ICE $1.50

SEPTEMBER 2, 1983

VOL. 35 No. 17

MICHAEL NOVAK ON
ıe Worried Churches
—see page 1076

NATIONAL REVIEW

THE HIGH COST OF FREE SPEECH

Richard McKenzie

The 'Baby Doe' Regs: ould Imperfect Infants Survive?

Steven Baer

M RTTR000-- 010 8317 L 1 26 -
RITTER LIB-PERIODICALS
BALDWIN-WALLACE COL
BEREA OH 44017

0 35
73361 64544

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A full carat or more. Halfway isn't your style.

Your jeweler can show you many diamond solitaires of a carat or more. This necklace features a 2.65 carat diamond.

A carat or more–one in a million.

Every diamond is rare.
But of all diamonds found, a solitaire of a carat or more is only one in a million.

And, like love, becomes more precious with time.

A miracle among miracles.
Born from the earth. Reborn on a woman.

The extraordinary diamond of a carat or more.

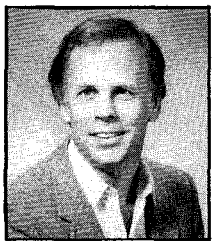
Show the world you couldn't have made it without her.

A diamond is forever. De Beers

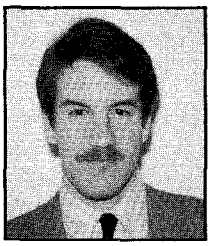
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NATIONAL REVIEW

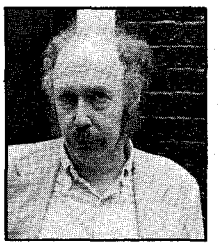
SEPTEMBER 2, 1983
VOL. XXXV, NO. 17



McKENZIE
Page 1064

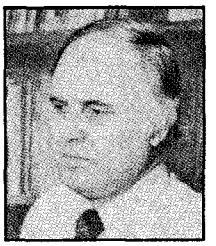


BAER
Page 1069

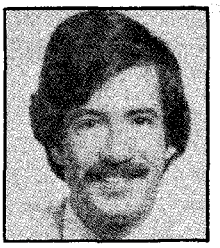


CLINTON
Page 1072

SIMONDS
Page 1073



NOVAK
Page 1076



REES
Page 1078

The Market and the Press

1064 The High Cost of Free Speech
For years the press has exalted freedom of the press while promoting an ever-darker view of the free market. But are the two kinds of freedom so easily separable? Doesn't the Ninth Amendment, in fact, virtually caution us against giving First Amendment freedoms "preferred" status? A free exchange of ideas is vital to the good society, all right, but for most of us, ideas are embodied in the goods we exchange. If coercion is bad for newspapers, it's bad for General Motors, and vice versa. *Richard McKenzie*

Articles & Columns

1060 Reagan De-Reaganizing?
The President has said a few things lately that have made conservatives fume. But watch what he does, not what he says. *John McLaughlin*

1062 Caribbean Scourge
Will Central America become another Vietnam? Of course—if Fidel ("Two, three, many Vietnams") Castro has his way. *Brian Crozier*

1069 Should Imperfect Infants Survive?
Like father, like son? Not in the case of Gerhard Gesell. His father was a famous pediatrician who preached reverence for life. But Judge Gesell has helped make killing a matter of discretion. *Steven Baer*

1072 Who Was Minding the Store?
While John Paul II was in Poland, some Vatican officials tried to undercut his mission. Consider the case of Don Virgilio Levi. *Farley Clinton*

1073 Electra in the Kitchen
Nika Hazelton takes a no-nonsense view of everything, whether it's cooking or corrupt politicians. (The fifth in a series of portraits of *NR* editors and columnists.) *C. H. Simonds*

1075 Islam: Another Wave Length
Interfaith understanding is a lovely thing—provided it begins with the understanding that other faiths really are different. *Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn*

1076 A New World Council?
A few bold critics are suggesting that the World Council of Churches enlarge its purview to include such novelties as God and religious liberty. Pray. *Michael Novak*

Books Arts & Manners

1078 Michael J. Perry has come up with a new argument for an activist judiciary. **Grover Rees III** admires his ingenuity, but finds it unconvincing. . . . **Forrest McDonald** savors William Buckley's *Overdrive*, which stirs a memory or two. . . . At 78, Alberto Moravia is still writing novels. **D. Keith Mano** finds his form excellent. . . . **Terry Teachout** considers an "unintentionally damning" biography of Katherine Anne Porter. . . . **Joe Mysak** welcomes two new books about the wits of Chicago. . . . **Joseph Sobran** recoils once again from the TV screen's poisonous emissions. . . . **John Simon** looks at what Zeffirelli has done to *La Traviata*.

Letters	**1044**
For the Record	**1048**
The Week	**1050**
help!	**1070**
The Right Books	**1091**
On the Right	**1096**
Trans-O-Gram	**1098**

Cover design by Colleen Lawlor

NATIONAL REVIEW (ISSN: 0028-0038) is published bi-weekly, except for the first issue in January, by National Review, Inc. at 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. and additional mailing offices.

© National Review, Inc., 1983.

Address all editorial mail, manuscripts, letters to the editors, etc. to Editorial Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. Address all subscription mail orders, changes of address, undeliverable copies, etc. to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. Adjustment requests should be accompanied by a current mailing label or facsimile.

RATES: $29.00 a year (26 issues). Add $6.25 for Canada and other foreign subscriptions, per year. (All payments in U.S. currency.) The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts unless return postage or, better, a stamped self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NR
NATIONAL REVIEW

William F. Buckley Jr. *Editor*
William A. Rusher *Publisher*
James P. McFadden
Consultant to the Editor

Editors
Richard Brookhiser / James Burnham
Jeffrey Hart / Joseph Sobran
Priscilla L. Buckley *Managing Editor*

Executive Editors
Linda Bridges *Assistant Managing Editor*
Kevin Lynch *(Articles)*
John McLaughlin *(Washington)*
Chilton Williamson Jr.
(Books, Arts & Manners)

Associate Publisher
Edward A. Capano

Contributing Editors
Tom Bethell / Brian Crozier
Werner J. Dannhauser / W. H. von Dreele
Nika Hazelton / D. Keith Mano
Charles Burton Marshall / Michael Novak
Walter Olson / John Simon
Ernest van den Haag / Timothy J. Wheeler

Associates
Gay Joyner Behensky
Jane Buckley Smith / E. Lacey Washington
Ione Whitlock

Frances Bronson *Executive Secretary*
Dorothy McCartney *Research Director*
Colleen Lawlor *Art Director*
Anna Lieber *Production Editor*
Dorothy B. Humanitzki *Copy Editor*
Rose Flynn DeMaio *Treasurer*

Advertising Director
Robert F. Sennott Jr.

Circulation Manager
Robert Garvey

Contributors
Ruth Berenson / David Brudnoy
John Chamberlain / John R. Coyne Jr.
David Evanier / M. Stanton Evans
Mary Gauerke / George Gilder
Victor Gold / Donald Hall
Malcolm Hancock / Norman Hannah
Henry Hazlitt / Charles R. Kesler
John Kiley / James Jackson Kilpatrick
Nicholas King / Forrest McDonald
Thomas Molnar / Gerhart Niemeyer
Joseph A. Rehyansky / Alan Reynolds
William F. Rickenbacker
Selden Rodman / Francis Russell
Morrie Ryskind / Terry Teachout
Ralph de Toledano / S. L. Varnado
Charles Wallen Jr.

Foreign Contributors
Anthony Lejeune *London*
Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn *Munich*
Donald Coxe *Toronto*
Nena Ossa *Santiago*
Robert S. Strother *Cuernavaca*

*

Letters

Present Arms

It was a pleasure to read Mr. Rostow's article, "Arms-Control Fever" [Aug. 19]. One so seldom reads an opinion about the arms race that is actually believable or understandable. Most writers on the subject seem to fall into one of two kinds of blind optimism: They ignore the real threat from the Soviets, or they ignore the real dangers of the weapons. Yet somehow, while squarely facing the situation, Mr. Rostow retains a hopeful attitude—and proposes a plausible course of action. "Man's instinct for self-preservation" is perhaps the only rational reason for hope.

I also like it when *NR* shifts from news analysis and looks toward the future.

Max Romanelli
New York, N.Y.

An Education

Lawrence A. Uzzell's advice to conservatives on education ["The Next Ten Years," Aug. 5] seems sound. An important argument for tuition tax credits and vouchers, however, was not offered: Allowing parents to make decisions about their children's education would increase respect for parents not only in their own eyes, but in the eyes of their children and the schools. This change in the power relationship between parents and schools would strengthen the family.

The family unit is under great pressure today. Giving parents decision-making power over the schools their children will attend will not overcome all of the negative forces besetting the family, but it will help. The message to parents today and, more important, to their children, seems to be that parents are not competent to judge what sort of schools their children need.

Moreover, poor parents, who have no alternative but inferior schools and who suffer the greatest stress on the family unit, could benefit in greatest proportion as their views begin to count more with their children, themselves, and the schools.

Tom W. Shuford
Roslyn Heights, N.Y.

I have just read Mr. Uzzell's article. Confused, I have examined my copy of the Constitution of the United States and find nowhere any mention that one of the functions of the Federal Government is to collect educational statistics. Did the printer drop a line?

Hugh Joseph Beard Jr.
Department of Education
Washington, D.C.

Party Politics

Re your comment anent the Studds-Crane matter, "At least *our* guy likes girls" ["The Week," Aug. 5]: Dan Crane is the third conservative Republican congressman to be caught in a sex scandal in the last few years and the first whose transgressions were heterosexual. I wouldn't push that point too much. Moreover, Gerry Studds, the Democrat, was the only one who didn't betray his marriage vows. That should count for something.

Edwin Armstrong
Bethesda, Md.

Spy Story

Brian Crozier, in his most recent aperçu [July 22], has it that when Mrs. Thatcher came to power she knew little about foreign policy and left it to Lord Carrington. This was confirmed in her visit to Ireland in December 1980 to discuss Northern Ireland with then Irish Prime Minister Haughey. At that time the *Irish Times* said she should be given a primer on Irish history, she knew so little about it.

Now, according to Mr. Crozier, she has Sir Anthony Parsons and a Joint Intelligence Committee, with "representatives of the secret services," at 10 Downing Street. Shades of *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*. Will President Reagan soon have Mr. Casey in residence at the White House?

John Branigan
Staten Island, N.Y.

What's Left

Please do not underestimate the hard Left by claiming that its Labour Manifesto was stupid ["Margaret Is Our Darling," July 8]. The hard Left is anything but stupid, and its members are masters of the art of disguising their true intentions. Therefore, there must be a reason or reasons for suddenly producing such an offensive and honest Manifesto.

1. The working classes no longer have a sensible working-class party representing them in Parliament.

2. The working classes are under-represented in Parliament, and this may lead to loss of confidence in Parliament and the end of "consensus" government.

Therefore, the Tories must straighten out secret-ballot voting in the unions, actively seek support from the working classes for their policies, and harass the hard Left with justified criticism. Otherwise complacency might pave the way to confrontation.

Joshua Vanneck
London, England

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The original McGuffey's Readers were different. They were Christian

Now they're available again after 125 years. You can get the full set here and SAVE $60

Rev. William McGuffey published his legendary Readers in the 1830s. Later editions, from 1857 on, were revised without his approval, and expurgated most references to religion. They were still excellent texts, but no longer Christian texts.

Now a Christian publisher, Mott Media, has reprinted the originals. We are offering them, with pride and admiration, for parents, godparents and grandparents who care enough to teach at home, or at least to *help*, the children they love.

The Original McGuffeys: 7 superb texts

Pictorial Eclectic Primer for Young Children. For kindergarten or pre-kindergarten: the alphabet, simple sentences and stories, charming original engravings.

Eclectic Primer. More advanced. For first-graders and bright kindergarteners.

Eclectic First Reader for Young Children. For second-graders or bright first-graders. Lots of spelling, and the words get as hard as "would" and "stalked" and "deranged."

Eclectic Second Reader. 85 lessons, each a well written story with a moral, some from Scripture or American history. Each lesson is followed by 1) questions drawn from it (e.g., How did Washington receive Lafayette? What is the Fifth Commandment? What is emulation?) and by 2) spelling words ("believed," "myrrh," "forsook"). When your children master this book, they'll be years ahead of their peers.

Eclectic Third Reader. Authors like Addison, Irving, Byron...Bible selections...excursions into history like the marvelous "Alexander the Great" — adults can read this book with pleasure. After your child of 8 or 9 finishes it, he's reading better, and understanding more, than most high schoolers.

Eclectic Fourth Reader. Quite beyond the average collegian today, yet within the reach of well trained 10-to-12-year-olds. Dozens of authors they should meet: Johnson, Webster, Milton, Jefferson, Schiller, Bacon, Southey, Bryant, Shakespeare, etc.

Eclectic Progressive Spelling Book. "Progressive" because it starts with basics and builds to an advanced vocabulary worthy of a graduate student. Not only definitions but pronunciations and usage in good sentences.

Mark Sullivan, in his 6-volume history, *Our Times*, ranks McGuffey up with Washington and Lincoln in influence. And a wonderful influence it was. Do your children deserve less?

FREE BOOK **Free with each set:** *McGuffey and His Readers: Piety, Morality and Education in 19th Century America* **by John H. Westerhoff III**

Startling call from eminent professor of English

"Let's bring back McGuffey's Reader — **to College**" is how Carl Bode, University of Maryland, titled his article in **The Chronicle of Higher Education**. Wrote Bode: "I guarantee that regular doses of McGuffey will brighten their eyes and bring roses to their cheeks...teach them to concentrate on the printed page...give them some of the memorable poetry and prose of our Anglo-American inheritance...make them better men and women, not to mention better-spoken men and women."

How to get this $69.95 slipcased set for ONLY $9.95!

How the Club Works

Every 4 weeks (13 times a year) you get a free copy of the Club Bulletin, which offers you the Featured Selection plus a good choice of Alternates — all of interest to conservatives. ★ If you want the Featured Selection, do nothing. It will come automatically. ★ If you don't want the Featured Selection, or you do want an Alternate, indicate your wishes on the handy card enclosed with your Bulletin and return it by the deadline date. ★ The majority of Club books will be offered at 20-50% discounts, plus a charge for shipping and handling. ★ As soon as you buy and pay for 4 books at regular Club prices, your membership may be ended at any time, either by you or by the Club. ★ If you ever receive a Featured Selection without having had 10 days to decide if you want it, you may return it at Club expense for full credit. ★ Good service. No computers! ★ The Club will offer regular Superbargains, mostly at 70-95% discounts plus shipping and handling. Superbargains do NOT count toward fulfilling your Club obligation, but do enable you to buy fine books at giveaway prices. ★ Only one membership per household.

CONSERVATIVE BOOK CLUB
15 OAKLAND AVENUE • HARRISON, NY 10528

I enclose $9.95. Please accept my membership in the Club and send me, at no additional cost, the Original McGuffey Readers in the 7-volume slipcased set PLUS my free copy of ***McGuffey and His Readers.*** I agree to buy 4 additional books at regular Club prices over the next 2 years. I also agree to the Club rules spelled out in this coupon.

☐ I don't care to join the Club but I'm enclosing $69.95 for the McGuffey set plus the free book. I may return the set in 30 days for full refund if not delighted.

NR-27

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE

university

The University Bookman is a quarterly edited by Russell Kirk. Each issue is devoted to the restoration and improvement of the standards of higher education in America. Most of the articles for this quarterly concentrate on two topics: the reviewing of university and college textbooks; and the sensible criticism of educational theory and practice today. Every **National Review** subscriber, living in the U.S.A., gets **The University Bookman** free. Others may subscribe at **$5.00** a year. Subscriptions and editorial correspondence should be sent to:

bookman

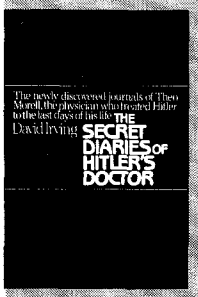
The University Bookman, P. O. Box 3070, Grand Central Station, New York, N. Y. 10017

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

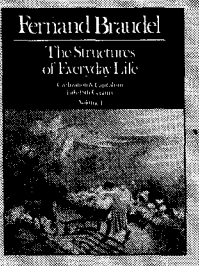
TAKE ANY 3 ALL FOR 99¢

(First price is publishers' list. Boldface shows members' price.)

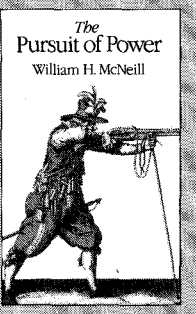
values up to $95.00 with trial membership.


The newly discovered journals of Theo Morell, the physician who treated Hitler to the last days of his life
David Irving
THE SECRET DIARIES OF HITLER'S DOCTOR

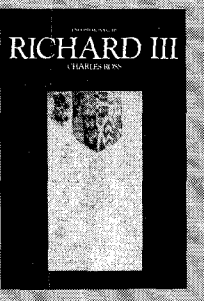
7112. $16.95/$11.95



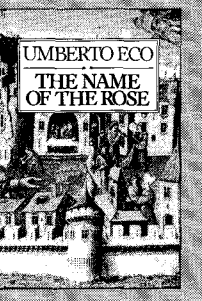
4911. $30.00/$15.50



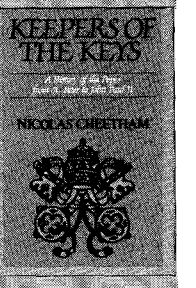
5595. $20.00/$13.95



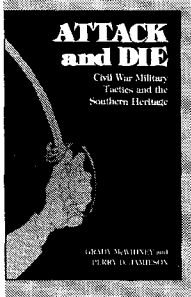
4663. $24.50/$13.95



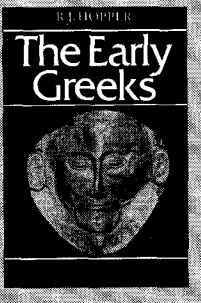
6833. $15.95/$11.95



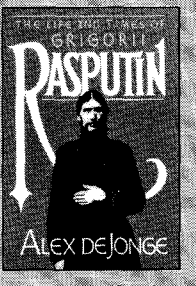
6155. $19.95/$14.50



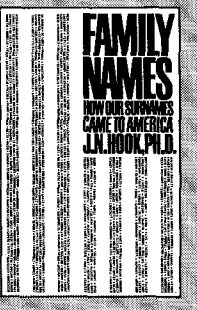
4721. $17.95/$12.95



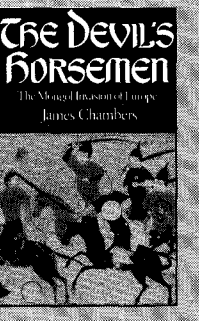
5504. $25.00/$13.00



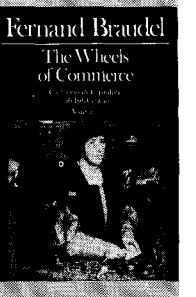
5058. $17.95/$12.95



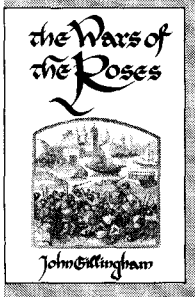
5710. $16.95/$11.95



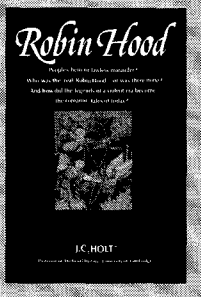
8284. $11.95/$8.95



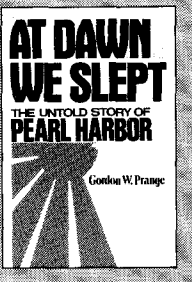
6239. $35.00/$15.95



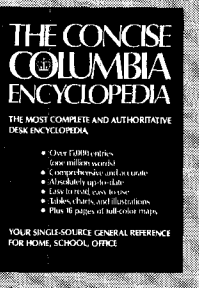
4820. $20.00/$13.50



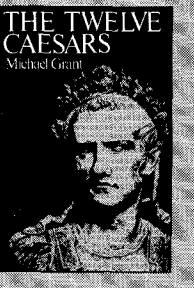
4952. $17.95/$12.50



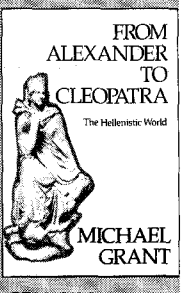
3970. $22.95/$14.95


THE CONCISE COLUMBIA ENCYCLOPEDIA
THE MOST COMPLETE AND AUTHORITATIVE DESK ENCYCLOPEDIA
YOUR SINGLE-SOURCE GENERAL REFERENCE FOR HOME, SCHOOL, OFFICE

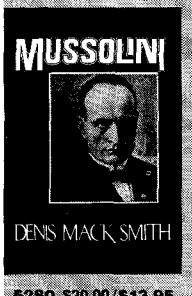
A8102. $29.95/$19.95
(counts as two of your three selections)



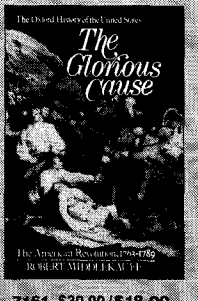
5652. $15.95/$10.95



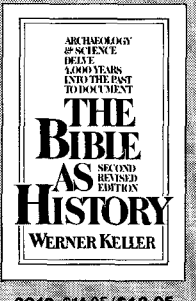
5736. $19.95/$13.95



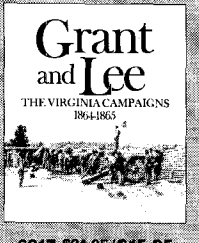
5280. $20.00/$13.95



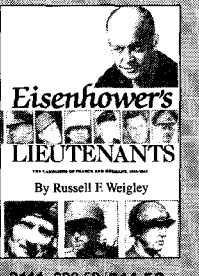
7161. $30.00/$18.00


ARCHAEOLOGY AND SCIENCE REACH 4,000 YEARS INTO THE PAST TO DOCUMENT
THE BIBLE AS HISTORY
SECOND REVISED EDITION
WERNER KELLER

3012. $14.95/$10.95



6817. $24.95/$15.95



3111. $22.50/$14.50

5462. $12.50/$8.50

No matter what areas of history you enjoy reading about most, you'll find that The History Book Club offers some of the finest selections being published today. And no book club we know of offers greater savings—an average of 33% off publishers' list prices.

You can save even more by taking advantage of our introductory offer. Select any 3 books on this page all for just 99¢ (values up to $95.00) when you take a fourth book at the low members' price. Your total savings as a trial member, including the introductory offer, can be more than 50%.

How the Club Works: As a Club member, you'll be able to choose from the 150-200 books featured each month. Our books are always equal to the publishers' editions, never "economy reprints," and available at savings of $3, $4, $5, or more off bookstore prices. You need take only four more books in the next two years, after which you'll save even more through bonus books which you may choose from our entire list.

Every four weeks (13 times a year) you will receive our *Review* and a dated reply card. If you want the Editors' Choice, do nothing, the book will come automatically. If you want another book, or no book at all, return the card by the date specified. (Book shipments will be charged to your account at low members' prices, plus postage-and-packing.)

If you should get an unwanted book because you had less than 10 days to decide, you may return it and pay nothing. We guarantee postage.

THE HISTORY BOOK CLUB, Dept. N
40 Guernsey Street, Box 790, Stamford, CT 06904

Please enroll me as a trial member and send me the four books whose numbers I have entered below. Bill those on the left at 99¢ for all three and the fourth at the low members' price, plus postage-and-packing.

[ ] [ ] [ ] [ ]

I may return the books within three weeks at your expense and owe nothing. Or, I will buy four more selections within the next two years (*not counting my choices above*). Membership is cancellable anytime thereafter. All club purchases are at low members' prices, and a postage-and-packing fee is added to all shipments.

NZ-07K

Print Name_____

Address_____ Apt. # _____

City_____

State_____ Zip _____

In Canada: Mail to U.S. address.

ST38L

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FOR THE RECORD

■ By the time Congress went off on summer recess, Democratic herd of 1984 presidential hopefuls had two front-runners: **John Glenn** and **Walter Mondale**. Mondale got biggest boost of his campaign August 9 when Executive Council of AFL-CIO voted to advance presidential endorsement from December to early October. "No living American politician has spent more hours in union halls than Fritz Mondale," says columnist **David Broder**—and no living American politician doubts Mondale will get AFL-CIO endorsement. . . . One labor insider said decision to advance endorsement might not have happened if it weren't for AFL-CIO boss **Lane Kirkland**'s "deep hatred" of **Ronald Reagan**. . . . **Hamilton Jordan**, **Carter**'s chief of staff, has advised Mondale to turn down labor backing. Winning a minimum of five Southern states, Jordan says, is crucial in 1984, and the tag of being "labor's candidate" will work against any candidate in the South. . . . Glenn keeps moving up in polls. According to *Des Moines Register*'s July poll, Glenn has picked up 12 percentage points since March—while Mondale has dropped eight points. Mondale is still choice of 55 per cent of Iowa Democrats; Glenn comes in at 30 per cent. **Alan Cranston** is third with 4 per cent. Former astronaut Glenn expects boost when movie of **Tom Wolfe**'s *The Right Stuff* premieres in October.

■ Scandal Update: After six months of investigation, Justice Department declared that it has insufficient evidence to prosecute **Anne M. Burford**, former administrator of Environmental Protection Agency, and five of her top aides. **Rita M. Lavelle**, former head of hazardous waste cleanup program, has been indicted. She is charged with perjury and obstructing a congressional inquiry. . . . To polygraph or not. White House spokesman **Larry Speakes** says Reagan "would like everyone to cooperate fully" with FBI investigation into disappearance of Carter briefing papers. High on FBI list are CIA Director **William Casey** and White House chief of staff **James Baker**. White House, according to Speakes, has no objection to lie-detector tests. Baker says he got briefing papers from Casey; Casey says he doesn't recall seeing papers or passing them on. . . . On his fourth visit to his congressional district after being censured, Rep. **Gerry Studds** ran into first signs of disapproval. Protestors in Dennis (Cape Cod) presented Studds with petitions bearing more than eight hundred signatures calling on him to surrender his seat. But he also got one petition of support, reputed to be from a former congressional page who said Studds "is the perfect example of the way a congressman should be."

Langdon, *Punch* Rothco

"So I figured, what the hell, it's a paying job, gets me in the news again, and it'll wind up as a book."

■ Reagan's commission on Central America has yet to complete clearance process. Until it does, it can't receive classified material. Nominee getting the most heat is **Carlos Díaz-Alejandro**, Yale economics professor whose appointment set off uproar in Cuban-American community. Critics call him a mouthpiece for **Castro**. They say there is no difference between what Díaz-Alejandro says and what appears in Cuba media. . . . Delegates at VFW's annual convention in New Orleans voted to establish fund to provide food, and medical and other nonmilitary supplies, to guerrilla groups trying to overthrow Sandinista government in Nicaragua. **James Currieo**, commander-in-chief of VFW, hopes to raise as much as $2 million—$1 per VFW member—but expects to get at least $50,000. Money will be administered by American Security Council, conservative group based in Boston, Va. Currieo says he got idea for fund after House decision to cut off covert aid to Nicaraguan freedom fighters. . . . Freedom fighters in Afghanistan have staged one of their biggest attacks since Soviet invasion in December 1979. Attack lasted five hours and took place around a Soviet fortress overlooking Kabul. Afghans also hit building where many Soviet and Afghan Communist officials of the **Babrak Karmal** government live. . . . **Vladimir Danchev**, broadcaster for Radio Moscow whose career came to an end after he described, on the air, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan as the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, is now in an insane asylum in Tashkent.

■ You read it first in *Time*: "The purge against the Communist Party and Soviet diplomats is further evidence of the paranoia that afflicts the **Khomeini** regime."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

For the price of an ordinary dictionary, treat yourself to the world's best.

The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary. Yours as an introduction to membership in the Book-of-the Month Club® for only $24.95

(PUBLISHER'S PRICE $150)

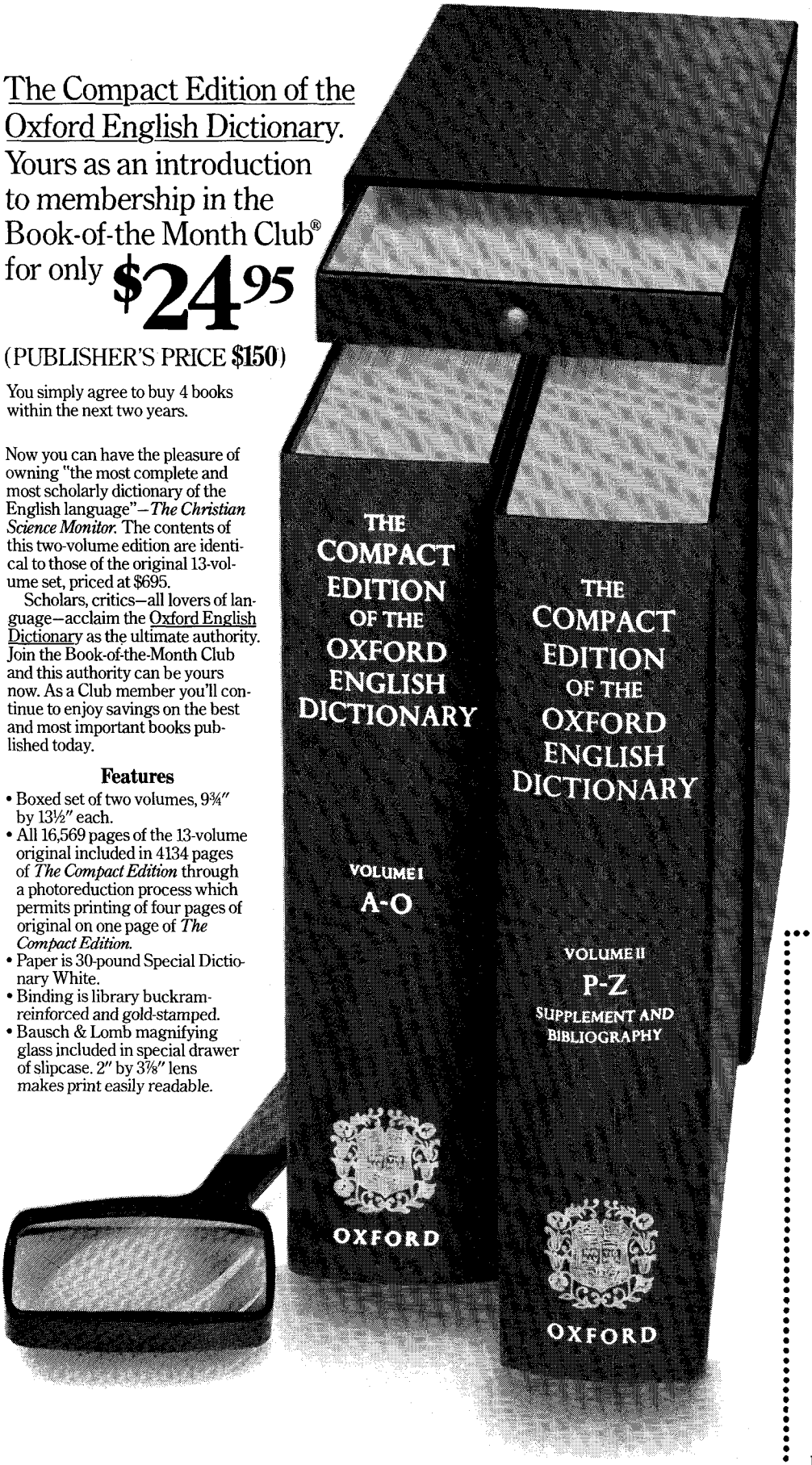
You simply agree to buy 4 books within the next two years.

Now you can have the pleasure of owning "the most complete and most scholarly dictionary of the English language"—*The Christian Science Monitor.* The contents of this two-volume edition are identical to those of the original 13-volume set, priced at $695.

Scholars, critics—all lovers of language—acclaim the Oxford English Dictionary as the ultimate authority. Join the Book-of-the-Month Club and this authority can be yours now. As a Club member you'll continue to enjoy savings on the best and most important books published today.

Features

- Boxed set of two volumes, 9¾" by 13½" each.
- All 16,569 pages of the 13-volume original included in 4134 pages of *The Compact Edition* through a photoreduction process which permits printing of four pages of original on one page of *The Compact Edition.*
- Paper is 30-pound Special Dictionary White.
- Binding is library buckram-reinforced and gold-stamped.
- Bausch & Lomb magnifying glass included in special drawer of slipcase. 2" by 3⅜" lens makes print easily readable.



Benefits of Membership.

Membership in the Book-of-the-Month Club begins with the extraordinary work offered here. Because our prices are generally lower than the publishers' prices, you will save on works such as this throughout your membership, as well as on the finest new fiction and nonfiction titles. In fact, the longer you remain a member, the greater your savings can be. Our Book-Dividend® plan, for which you become eligible after a brief trial enrollment, offers savings from 50% to 75% off the publishers' prices on art books, reference works, classics, books on cooking and crafts, literary sets and other contemporary works of enduring value. All Book-of-the-Month Club books are equal in quality to the publishers' originals; they are not condensed versions or cheaply made reprints.

As a member you will receive the *Book-of-the-Month Club News*® 15 times a year (about every 3½ weeks). Every issue reviews a Selection and 150 other books that we call Alternates, which are carefully chosen by our editors. If you want the Selection, do nothing. It will be shipped to you automatically. If you want one or more Alternates—or no book at all—indicate your decision on the Reply Form and return it by the specified date. *Return Privilege*: If the *News* is delayed and you receive the Selection without having had 10 days to notify us, you may return it for credit at our expense. *Cancellations*: Membership may be discontinued, either by you or by the Club, at any time after you have bought four additional books. Join today. With savings and choices like these, no wonder Book-of-the-Month Club is America's Bookstore.

Book-of-the-Month Club, Inc.
Camp Hill, Pennsylvania 17012

Please enroll me as a member of Book-of-the-Month Club and send me THE COMPACT EDITION OF THE OXFORD ENGLISH DICTIONARY. Bill me $24.95, plus shipping and handling charges. I agree to buy four books during the next two years. A shipping and handling charge is added to each shipment.

A123-9-1

Name_____ 3-41
(Please print plainly)

Address_____ Apt.____

City_____

State_____ Zip____

Price shown is U.S. price.
Outside the U.S., price is generally higher.

BOOK-OF-THE-MONTH CLUB
America's Bookstore® since 1926.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WEEK

■ The Democrats are considering measures designed to improve their image. Why not change the name of the party?

■ While the press has given much attention to the decommissioning of 15 nuclear reactors, we have heard little about another power plant, Millbrook I in New York, which was recently decommissioned because of technical difficulties and prohibitive costs. The extraordinary restraint in criticizing this waste of public money is a novelty. Perhaps it is because Millbrook I was one of the gang's beloved solar power plants.

■ In response to Judge Gerhard Gesell's ruling on the Baby Doe regulation (see "Should Imperfect Infants Survive?" by Steven Baer, p. 1069), the Department of Health and Human Services reissued the regulation, attempting to meet his procedural objections. The American Academy of Pediatrics (AAP) has announced that it plans once again to challenge the rule. Meanwhile, in the July 1983 issue of *Pediatrics*, the AAP gave a prominent forum to philosopher Peter Singer's views on the regulation. "We will not regard as sacrosanct the life of each and every member of our species. . . . If we compare a severely defective human infant with a nonhuman animal, a dog or a pig, for example, we will often find the nonhuman to have superior capacities, both actual and potential, for rationality, self-consciousness, communication, and anything else that can plausibly be considered morally significant. Only the fact that the defective infant is a member of the species *Homo sapiens* leads it to be treated differently from the dog or pig. Species membership alone, however, is not morally significant." Son of Auschwitz.

■ While the world expectantly awaits the next nuclear-arms-control treaty, it appears that the Soviets have been ignoring the last one. The Administration has requested a special session of the U.S.-Soviet Standing Consultative Commission to discuss growing evidence of three violations of SALT I. Moscow has made no response to the request. Would you? If you were guilty?

■ The Greater New York Conference on Soviet Jewry has released a report, "Three Years of Oppression," on the conclusion of the Madrid Conference, set up to review compliance with the Helsinki Accords of 1975. The "committed Jew" in the USSR lives in frightening circumstances, the report reminds us, and it is getting harder for Jews to leave: A total of 2,688 were permitted to emigrate in 1982, compared to 9,447 in 1981, 21,471 in 1980, and 51,320 in 1979. The Conference on Soviet Jewry asserts that during the three years of the Madrid Conference, the Kremlin has actually intensified the oppression of Soviet Jews.

■ On August 5, Guatemalan President Efraín Ríos Montt gave a wide-ranging interview in which he distanced himself from both the United States and the Soviet Union, claiming that neither was truly concerned about the welfare of Central America. Discussing his own future, General Ríos Montt said that he planned to step down and turn over power to elected political parties at the end of 1985—"unless they get rid of me before then." On August 8, the president was gotten rid of, as the result of a coup led by Defense Minister Oscar Humberto Mejía Victores. As soon as he took over, the new chief began moving the country in the direction of the United States and its Central American policies. "The United States," General Mejía Victores asserted, "is the only country that can help to combat the guerrillas in the region." The general wasn't nearly as well-disposed toward Nicaragua. He described the Sandinista government as "not only a threat to Guatemala but to the whole continent." For those still in the dark about the tilt of the new government: On August 14, Guatemala and El Salvador agreed on a plan for a closer military cooperation. Guatemala brings to the agreement a twenty-thousand-man army, considered to be the most efficient, man for man, in Central America. All in all, quite a coup.

■ Gabriel García Márquez, the Marxist Nobel Prize novelist, is writing fiction again. In his internationally syndicated newspaper column he has recounted, as The Truth, a bunch of stories published months ago in the Mexican press and purporting to be the depositions of eyewitnesses returning from the Falklands war—these depositions coming in the form of anonymous letters. All about Gurkhas: how they decapitated the Argentinian troops at the rate of one head "every seven seconds" ("*cada siete segundos*"—if you think we're exaggerating) and cut off the ears; and,

Our House Recruiter

Guy Vander Jagt, who just last year
Watched grown men scramble toward the rear
  While some played dumb,
Now fights off candidates galore
As leading indicators soar
  And Tip looks glum.

W. H. VON DREELE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

With Congress in recess, the President at the ranch, the pundits in Southampton, and an August lull oozing through the city, it would be easy to assume that the widely reported Shultz/Clark tug of war is being hyped by the press simply to fill a void in hard political news stories. Well, oddity of oddities, the press is, basically, telling the truth: The Secretary of State is unhappy, frustrated, and alternately enraged and depressed that the President's National Security Advisor, William Clark, is doing to him what Henry Kissinger did to Bill Rogers, i.e., moving the center of gravity of our foreign-policy-making away from the State Department and into the White House.

It should be noted, however, that, while the fundamentals are correct, there are two exaggerations in the reporting: First, Shultz did know about last month's dispatching of troops to Central America before the story broke in the papers, although he did not learn of it until after it had become a *fait accompli.* Second, Mr. Shultz is not contemplating resignation, nor is he playing games with it. He plans to weather the crisis, and to stay on at least through the 1984 elections.

In a sense, the Secretary has no one to blame but himself. When he was sent to the Middle East to engineer the accord between Lebanon and Israel, he ought to have known that excluding Syria from the negotiations would arouse Assad's fury and defiance, leading to an increased Russian presence there. Now, instead of a triumph to undergird Mr. Reagan's Mideast peace initiative, all Mr. Shultz has to show for his efforts is a black eye. The situation is, arguably, worse than ever.

Even more serious, we hear, is Mr. Shultz's naïve assumption—a natural extension of his otherwise admirable team approach—that he could make the heavy and complicated machinery of the State Department shift its huge gears and do his bidding by relying on career people rather than by bringing in fresh personnel who share the Reagan view and are sufficiently activist and intrepid to install it. True, the Secretary brought in a lot of non-career people at the level of assistant secretary and above, but there is precious little support below these echelons.

Then there is the recent appointment of Tapley Bennett to become Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Affairs, a job that entails interaction with the Hill on such sensitive and far-reaching matters as the Zablocki-Boland measures on covert aid to the Nicaraguan contras. Former Ambassador (to NATO) Bennett is, at 66, the oldest active career foreign service officer now at State, has been confirmed by the Senate for various assignments more times than anyone in the history of the nation (16), was ambassador to the Dominican Republic when we sent the troops in, and is a bureaucratic insider of acknowledged integrity and diplomatic skill.

Having decided to retire, Ambassador Bennett had made his farewells, and was suddenly pulled back at the last minute by Mr. Shultz, who knew him at NATO, to take this assignment. For all his skills and gifts, Ambassador Bennett has not served in the United States since 1957. Does anyone really think that his background as a career foreign service officer fits him to do battle on Capitol Hill? What happened, we hear, is that the Administration could find no one knowledgeable about the ins and outs of congressional politics who would take the job, and so settled on someone safe, who will be able to ride it out. Of course, this appointment sets up another vacuum into which William Clark will be able to rush.

No one should think that Mr. Clark is going to have a free ride, or that his current catbird seat is secure. With the high-voltage limelight that he has generated for himself, Ronald Reagan's proven and trusted California friend is especially vulnerable. Besides the current notoriety, Mr. Clark has many natural adversaries, including critics in the liberal media who disapprove of what they construe to be his hardening of the Administration's foreign policy (despite his backing of Kissinger as head of the Central American commission). Moreover, he has become the object of incidental derision on Capitol Hill owing to three recent gauche briefings, and he has stepped on lots of toes at the White House and in the departments as he has gone about consolidating his power.

No one here thinks that Mr. Clark is an empire builder, or that he has a tropism for publicity; all acknowledge that he is honorably motivated and is working for what he believes is the best interest of the nation and the President. The fear in Washington—expressed chiefly by Reaganites—is that before the election, one of Mr. Clark's many vulnerabilities will be penetrated by his enemies, causing him to come crashing down. In a word, Bill Clark may be being set up—or, without knowing it, may be setting himself up.

—CATO

---

running out of Argentinians, turned on the British, slaughtering them until they were overpowered. And about the five hundred Argentinian prisoners who had been raped by British troops; and so on. The stories have been flatly denied by Lieutenant-Colonel David Morgan, who commanded a battalion of Gurkhas in the Falklands. Faced with this challenge to his credibility, García Márquez merely repeats that he thinks the stories are true. He has returned to Colombia to found a newspaper that will be called *El Otro* (*The Other*). That kind of thing takes real money. Wonder whose?

■ Surinam is important. It gives the Havana-Moscow axis a fine harbor on the northeastern coast of South America. The harbor commands the sea lanes through which half of our supplies would pass in the event of war in Europe and elsewhere. It commands, also, a full low-frequency sonar sweep of the North Atlantic for naval intelligence, something Moscow has needed for years (the "view" from Cuba is 95 per cent blocked by the Bahama reefs). It provides access to Brazil's empty back-country, great for launching a Ho Chi Minh trail to the back-country of Venezuela, Colombia, and Peru (where an insurgency in the mountains is well under way). In the hills to the west of Paramaribo, Canadian and American geologists have blocked out alluvial gold deposits worth billions of dollars, just waiting to be dredged. No wonder the CIA worked up a plan to overthrow

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Surinam's murderous boss, Dési Bouterse. But the House Intelligence Committee, chaired by Representative Edward Boland, vetoed the plan, apparently on Senator Dodd's reasoning that 1) Surinam is small, and 2) the U.S. shouldn't fight small wars. The *Wall Street Journal*, pointing out that this puts the Democrats in the position of advocating major wars only, concludes, "Historically, that kind of approach has almost always cost a lot of lives."

■ Now we get the good news. The French Catholic bishops are preparing a statement that will express support for the French nuclear deterrent in particular and the strategy of nuclear deterrence generally. According to the Reverend Gérard Defois, who is in charge of preparing the French episcopate's statement, "The paradox of peace in the nuclear era is precisely that one can prevent war only by evoking the horrors of the destruction of humanity." Well, Paris is a lot closer to the Soviet Union than Chicago is, and such proximity concentrates the mind wonderfully.

■ The USSR announces with some satisfaction that it has completed the Siberian pipeline in record time, an achievement it attributes to its superior industrial skills. It does not mention that its "superior" industrial capacity results from a massive use of slave labor (confirmed in detail by as unlikely a source as Jack Anderson), Western financing at below-market rates, and Western technology—mainly ours—without which the project could not have been carried out at all. Also useful were unbreakable contracts to supply Western Europe with gas at above-market rates, which will bring in $5 billion a year in hard currency the Soviets desperately need to keep their monster military machine in top shape.

■ For the first time in the history of the United States, the government is making a serious effort to save money. It is cracking down on Marines taking second helpings at chow. It won't work.

■ On August 25 Leonard Bernstein will be 65. He thinks it would be nifty if musicians everywhere would mark the occasion by wearing red armbands in a plea for nuclear disarmament. We're passing the idea along to *Rolling Stone*, which reaches the musicians most likely to respond.

■ Not that the party has moved leftward, but in a few years it's going to be McCarthyism to call a man a Democrat without solid proof.

■ Representative Daniel Crane is running for re-election. He's already tossed his diaper into the ring.

■ Does Chad threaten to become another Vietnam?

Mixed Metaphors

Fritz Mondale's rush to tie the knot
With labor and arrest the rot
Has Alan Cranston chewing nails
As John Glenn, off the record, pales.
But savvy pollsters say, instead,
The "Clear with Sidney" days are dead;
That Mondale, who may win the toss,
Will dribble with an albatross.

W. H. VON DREELE

How's He Doing?

In strictly political terms, with November 1984 the only benchmark, how's Reagan doing? Much to-do on two voting fronts, Hispanics and the "gender gap" (Her Panics). For Hispanics, Vice President Bush was dispatched to San Antonio, while Reagan welcomed Hispanic groups at the White House five days running, wowed 'em in Miami, got ovations in El Paso, was cheered in Tampa, had a warm meeting with President de la Madrid in La Paz, Mexico, probably lost nothing among Puerto Ricans in Northern cities and gained much among anti-Communist refugees in the Southern Tier—score a big plus. For her, Reagan has continued to nominate gifted women for high posts, has insisted on speaking kindly, but has had little else to do that was at the same time substantive, politic, and principled (e.g., the Administration won't come out for the ERA); women, the polls say, "are unhappy with" Reagan; to the extent that they're unhappy for the wrong reasons, unreasonable in their demands, impolite in their discourse, and forgetful that they are after all an absolute majority, for every vote they subtract from Reagan there's a male voter who will pull the lever for the old boy under attack, and the polls show that, too—score a draw, so far. For the blacks, whose leaders have an entrenched interest in toppling Reagan, the Administration has filed a desegregation suit against Alabama's public colleges, has sent Congress a proposal to toughen enforcement of the Fair Housing Act of 1968, has signed an executive order to "promote the development" of minority businesses, but will probably get nowhere as long as the major black spokesmen cling to the incumbency-dependency symbiosis of yesterday—score a draw. In Mexico, Reagan has got off to a good start with de la Madrid, has paid attention to border problems, has made new loans, has clarified U.S. interests (a necessary condition for avoiding conflict)—in politics this side of the border, score a small gain. For the pocketbook vote, Reagan has unemployment coming down, price rises slowing

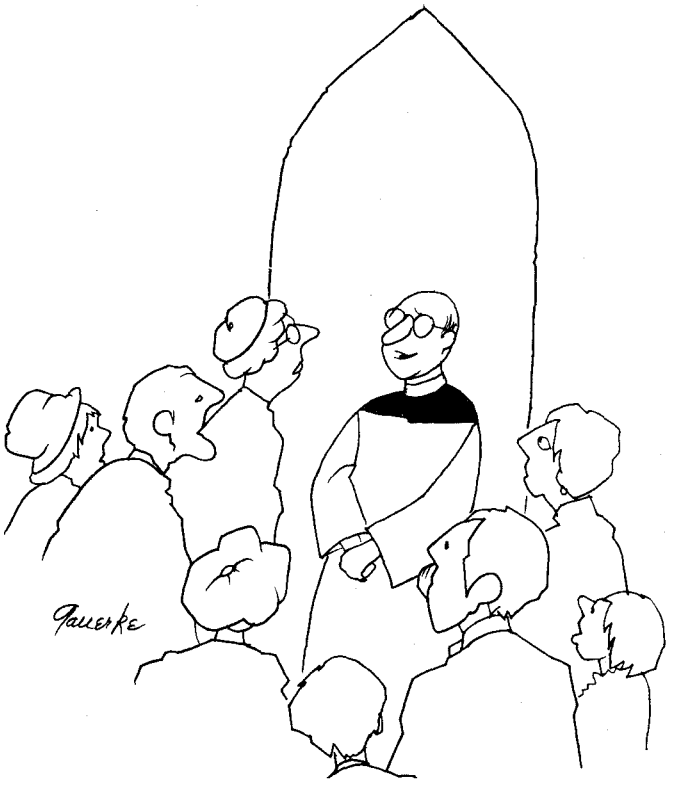
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pro tem, stocks going up, and all the switches set for flipping to a funny-money boom next year just before November; this is perceived as a slow workout—score a small gain. In Central America, Reagan continues to explain the situation and the issues, a venture in realism and leadership that is enough in itself to differentiate that conflict from Vietnam; as people understand, they assent—score continuing gains. He's off and running, and in the winter book he looks strong.

The Buying of the Presidency

AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland knows as well as anyone else that the power of big labor has been declining sharply in recent years. It has sunk with the older smokestack industries and with the growing independence of more highly skilled workers in the newer industries. Big labor has lost hundreds of thousands of members during the past decade, and many blue-collar workers who no longer wear blue collars voted for Reagan. (The recent British elections reflected a similar dramatic shift in the demography of the working class, with many skilled workers voting either Tory or Liberal/Social Democratic.)

Mr. Kirkland is now trying desperately to recoup the lost clout of big labor by playing about the only card he has left. He is trying to buy the Presidency for labor by putting his own selected candidate in the White House. It is a high-risk move, but when you have no other options, you play your card or get out of the game.



"Standing room only, this Sunday, folks. We're jammed to the rafters with bag ladies and homeless men."

Instead of waiting until December, the AFL-CIO will endorse its candidate for President during the first week of October. It will be Mondale, barring some traumatic development between now and then. In return for the endorsement, Mondale knows what he must give: jobs programs for the hardcore unemployed, support for restrictive and preferential legislation such as Davis-Bacon, protectionism and tariffs, higher and longer unemployment benefits, and something that has not yet been clearly defined, but has been much talked about, called "industrial policy." This last seems to mean some sort of federally organized and directed scheme for reviving the heavy industry of Pittsburgh, Detroit, and other older cities.

Lane Kirkland is a formidable labor leader, and a man of considerable intelligence. In moving behind Mondale he is taking a complex political gamble. The resources the AFL-CIO can put behind a candidate have been estimated at $20 million, and they include field workers, organization, polling, and computers, all the resources of modern big-time electioneering. Lane Kirkland has as much as said that he ought to do *something* with those resources.

But Mondale has so far not caught on in the country, and the uneasy suspicion persists in political circles that he *cannot* catch on, that people have looked him over and turned to more interesting matters. Mondale is widely seen as a broken-record liberal, and he possesses what someone has called Scandinavian charisma. With that, you can carry Minnesota, Oregon, and Washington State. Glenn climbs in the polls, pushing up into a vacuum.

The AFL-CIO endorsement could also have a very negative effect upon the fortunes of the endorsee. In the preference polls, big labor stands somewhat higher than AIDS, but lower than bureaucrats, tax collectors, and orthodontists.

The alliance of big labor and Walter Mondale in October could be a marriage of desperation between terminal losers.

Minding Our Manners

The President has taken his lumps lately over what some pundits are calling his "perceived insensitivity" to women and minorities. Excuse it, but we perceive it a little differently.

Consider the recent fuss about Mr. Reagan's caveman joke. The leader of the businesswomen's group he addressed the joke to, Polly Madenwald, called his attempt at an apology "very degrading," among other horrible things.

Now "very degrading" is a strong phrase. It calls to mind images of enslavement, whips, cramped holds of ships. But instead of suggesting that perhaps Mrs.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Madenwald herself was being histrionically hypersensitive, the media solemnly adduced the incident as evidence of the President's own boorishness.

It has been too seldom observed that only one side in our public discourse—the conservative side—seems capable of giving offense. Only on the right do we find "insensitivity," "gaffes," and "offensiveness." It is not deemed rude for minority leaders, feminists, and Democrats to accuse their enemies of racism, sexism, greed, inhumanity, and bellicosity, literal (toward the Soviets) or metaphorical ("war on the poor"). This is standard fare. Let some black "leader" call Reagan the mortal enemy of black folk, and at the next press conference a reporter will stand to ask the President how he intends to counter the "widespread perception" that he is insensitive to the needs of blacks.

A "perception," it seems, is an accusation the media are willing to dignify and retail. There was no such "perception" that Jimmy Carter was soft on Communism.

So Mr. Reagan is required to mind a wild farrago of P's and Q's, while his opponents, posing as the arbiters of manners, indulge their own impulses to abuse, accuse, and slander. The code of etiquette is, of course, the guise liberal ideology assumes in order to place its agenda beyond debate by representing it as an uncontroversial standard of verbal behavior.

Worse yet, the President seems to be falling for it. He accepts the burden of proof for his own motives, being too innocently civil to recognize the motives of his critics, who see *pas de gaucherie à gauche*. He ought to be a little more wary of people who take offense even when he is being genial and generous.

No Bloodhounds, Either

When you read about the fate of the poor under Reaganomics, you may remember what Thelma Ritter said after she heard Anne Baxter's story in *All about Eve*: "Everythin' but the bloodhounds snappin' at her rear end." But does the story ring true? Michael Novak, resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute (and *NR* contributing editor), checked the actual economic statistics. His findings, published in the latest *Commentary*, shed some light on how the "fairness issue" has been used to advance a political agenda that has nothing to do with the interests of the poor.

One possible charge against the Reagan Administration, of course, is that it presided over a recession and that recessions hurt the poor. But the recession is ending: Given current trends, the last unemployed person in the country will find a job in March 1985, not long after the second Reagan inaugural. So the critics go on to assert that Reaganomics has a specific bias toward hard-heartedness that would hurt the poor even in boom times. Typically this is supposed to consist of "giving to the rich" by failing to confiscate their money, and "taking from the poor" by failing to redistribute money in their direction.

Langdon, *Punch* Rothco

"At least with us under-developed countries, anything you give us, you don't have the problem of interest payments or loan rescheduling."

Taking the two charges one at a time:

Taxes. The Kemp-Roth tax cuts, of course, were across-the-board for all taxpayers. In charging that such proportional cuts help the rich more, the critics seem to be acknowledging, some for the first time, that the rich had borne more than a proportionate burden before the cuts. In 1980, "those Americans who earned more than $50,000"—the top 3 per cent—"remitted 31 per cent of all income taxes paid," Novak says, while the bottom 50 per cent—those making less than $12,000—shouldered only 6 per cent of the burden. "Thus, the top 3 per cent paid five times more in taxes than the bottom 50 per cent combined." The demand that a tax cut be less than proportional at higher bracket levels is a demand that the tax cut be used as an occasion to make the tax structure even more steeply graduated than it is now.

"Not only have high-income persons not benefited disproportionately from the cut in tax rates," Novak writes, "but the gross amounts they are paying are, if anything, greater than before the cuts went into effect." Final figures are not in, but tax receipts from the top 3 per cent of income earners seem *higher* for 1982 than for 1980. If these preliminary data hold up, it will be a stunning vindication of the Laffer curve as it applies to high brackets.

Expenditures. Far more is being spent on social

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

programs now than under Carter, even adjusting for inflation, the recession, and population growth. Take the three biggest items: Social Security spending is up 44 per cent, from $117 billion in 1980 to $168 billion this year; Medicare is up 63 per cent, from $35 billion to $57 billion; Medicaid is up 36 per cent, from $14 billion to $19 billion. To the critics, this should appear to be a case of unprecedented generosity to the needy—unless they are prepared to admit that these programs are of little use in fighting poverty.

What about the relatively minor programs targeted specifically to the poor: food stamps, rent subsidies, and so on? These add up to about $70 billion. "And it is on these that the case against Reagan rests."

The figures speak for themselves. Unemployment-compensation spending has risen much faster than the jobless figures themselves. Housing: up from $5.4 billion to $9.3 billion under Reagan. Supplemental security income: up from $6.4 to $8.8 billion. Food stamps: $9.1 to $12.0 billion. The supplemental food program for women, infants, and children: $0.7 to $1.1 billion. Where there have been cuts, as in the school-lunch program (down from $3.4 to $3.2 billion, in the steepest cut of any large program), they have typically been targeted at the highest-income recipients. Of course, some of these expenditures are well below the planned Carter levels; but failing to make big increases is not the same as making big cuts.

The fairness question is very real and very important; in fact, it would be a good idea to fight the next election on it. How fair is it to run a $400-billion system of social programs when only a small fraction of that amount trickles down to the poor? How fair is it to pay for school lunches for the middle class by inflating the currency and robbing the productive investment of the future? How fair is the liberal record of the past two decades?

WCC Talk

"Vertical" or "horizontal": This, said Michael Novak, was the choice for the World Council of Churches at its meeting in Vancouver (see "A New World Council?" p. 1076). Would the WCC devote more attention to Christians' relations with God? Or to the secular questions of this world? Well, the only "vertical" move was the surge for church unity, reflected in the favorable reactions to the Lima Agreement drawn up in Peru last year, which found "doctrinal convergences" in three elements of the Christian faith that have historically divided the churches: baptism, the eucharist, and the ministry.

The importance of the document is that theologians and scholars from churches that are not members of the WCC—including the Roman Catholic Church, the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, and the Southern Baptist Convention—helped draw it up. Said Dr. John Deschner, a theologian at Southern Methodist University: "This growing strategic clarity about advancing toward visible church unity is the most important development in the World Council since it was formed . . . in 1948."

However, the so-called horizontal line was hardly neglected at the Vancouver meeting. In the first week, two hundred U.S. church leaders protested Reagan's Central American policy. Then, in the last week, the WCC defeated (306 to 278) an amendment calling for an immediate Soviet withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan, the Russian Orthodox representative having threatened to withdraw his delegation from the council if the amendment passed. Naturally, too, the church officials passed a nuclear-freeze statement, called for a worldwide oil embargo against South Africa, and asked for increased awareness of the "urgent and just" Palestinian cause.

Now, there is one thing that the WCC *didn't* do. The council's Secretary General, Dr. Philip Potter, received two letters, with haunting details, from Soviet dissidents asking the assembly to say something, for God's sake, about Soviet religious repression and all those who suffer from it. A spokesman for Potter said that the subject of the letters would not be addressed because it was "not part of Assembly business." Maybe it can be brought up at the next meeting—scheduled for 1987.

The Glenn Watch

At the moment, Senator John Glenn looks like the only Democrat with a reasonable chance of beating Ronald Reagan in 1984. So it is interesting to note a recent attack on him by Anthony Lewis, the leftward-most pundit of the *New York Times*'s Op-Ed page.

Lewis's political instincts are erratic, to say the least (he thought the Khmer Rouge deserved a chance to build "a new society" even as they were sending millions on a forced march out of Phnom Penh in 1975), but he is no kamikaze. In 1980 he was waving his arms in a desperate attempt to dissuade the soft Left from voting for John Anderson, on the grounds that Jim-

The Catacombs Might Help

World churchmen chose Vancouver to
Renew support for people who
Are leftward-leaning, or at least
Say friendly things about the East;
But no official raised a hand
To help the church in Gulagland,
Suggesting this peculiar group
Is really just a dopey dupe.

W. H. VON DREELE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

my Carter, for all his defects, was the best that could be reasonably expected.

When Senator Glenn cast a decisive vote on July 13 to authorize the production of nerve-gas weapons, Lewis took note, questioning Glenn's "potential for political leadership." When millions of Americans were looking for an "alternative" to "a wild Administration," Glenn flunked the test: Wasting his "credibility" as a quasi-military hero, he lacked either "the understanding or the will to resist as feeble a cause as nerve gas."

Glenn's strength as a Democrat is that he looks relatively conservative: That is what is meant by "credibility." But what good is credibility, except as a sort of capital to be spent on leftist causes? That is what is meant by "leadership."

Lewis has served notice that the left wing of the Democratic Party-media alliance will be watching Glenn to see if he is going to play ball. As the real front-runner, he will find himself under growing pressure to do so.

Glenn's dilemma is that he can't afford, politically, to appear as just another Democrat. A long campaign may expose what is already a fairly left-wing voting record on busing, spending, racial quotas, and abortion. Last year he had a 70 rating from the ADA; in 1981, a whopping 80. Despite his solid Middle American demeanor, this is not a middle-of-the-road record.

But the Left will do its best to see that he can't afford, politically, to ease over toward the right. His party is already more McGovernite than the McGovern of 1972, and it has shown it has the will to punish men like Phil Gramm who flout its orthodoxies. And Glenn can't afford to have a disaffected left-wing third-party movement siphoning off votes against Ronald Reagan.

John Glenn has his work cut out for him. We'll be keeping an eye on him too.

More 'Magic' and Less IDA

With the $8.4-billion heist for the International Monetary Fund nearly completed, the State Department and some of its congressional friends are now gearing up for another deep dip into the taxpayers' pockets.

The World Bank's soft-loan window, the International Development Association (IDA), is looking for more money. IDA passes out its funds at a zero rate of interest and gives the poorer developing countries fifty years to repay the largesse. Last time around, World Bank management hit up the U.S. for a little more than $3 billion over a three-year period. One of the first steps Ronald Reagan took when he came into office was to stretch out this commitment to a four-year period. This time around, the World Bank wants $4 billion from the U.S., spread over three years. That works out to a mere 65 per cent increase on a yearly basis.

The foreign-aid lobby takes some comfort from the fact that the Administration pried $945 million for IDA out of Congress this year and is asking for just over $1 billion in fiscal 1984 to finish up the Carter Administration commitment. But Treasury, the Executive-branch department that has charge of overseeing IDA contributions, is sticking by the $750-million yearly contribution that has been in budget documents for over two years.

One of the World Bank's sillier arguments in favor of a massive expansion of IDA is that Communist China is now eligible and would like a lot of cheap money (who wouldn't?). However, China is one of the few developing countries that commercial banks are falling all over themselves trying to lend to. And over the past several years China has dramatically increased its economic growth rate, largely by letting farmers grow what they want, and permitting them to charge a market price for their crops and keep the profits. Sounds suspiciously like "the magic of the market" to us, a phrase put into circulation by none other than Ronald Reagan. Let's have a little more magic and a lot less IDA.

Hoist with Their Own Petard

Public Opinion (June/July) takes note of a peculiarity that deserves pickling: The Establishment press has pleaded guilty to a crime it has not committed. Mr. C. T. Hanson, writing in the *Columbia Journalism Review*, accuses the White House reporters of serving as propagandists for the Reagan camp, and likens them to the lickspittle hacks at TASS and *Izvestia*. Heady stuff. And Mr. Hodding Carter has offered his television program as a forum for Elizabeth Drew, William Greider, Andrea Mitchell, Sam Donaldson, and Lou Cannon to sing variations on the theme that Mr. Reagan has charmed and mesmerized the press into an imbecile servility.

Public Opinion has now evaluated the network television treatment accorded Mr. Reagan in January and February of this year and has found that the President got the short end of the stick: "The ratio of bad news to good, using stories as the analytical unit, was 13.5 to 1." The impact was even more unfavorable, because the stories that were hostile were sharply hostile while the "positive pieces were, at best, moderately favorable."

Again, measuring the network coverage by extent (words) rather than stories (events), it turns out that the unfavorable reports ran to 8,800 words during those two months; the neutral, 5,800 words; the favorable, 400 words.

John Chancellor, at NBC, found Mr. Reagan to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

have been "acting improperly" for two years in environmental matters, "in flagrant violation of the Constitution." He accused Mr. Reagan of ignoring his duty to execute the law, found this lapse to be "the biggest scandal of them all," and managed to control himself enough to stop short of asking for impeachment. (A "flagrant violation of the Constitution" just doesn't cut the mustard any more.)

Dan Rather, at CBS, favored indirection: "While President Reagan was in St. Louis today speaking again of America on the mend, there was another America not far off—an America of 12 million unemployed where the wounds are still too fresh," etc., a nice introduction to a program devoted to interviews with the poor.

The full analysis of the print media isn't complete as yet, but one may expect the results to fall in line with the broadcast bias. There's something deliciously amusing in the media's inability to give an honest report even about their own activity; which same something demands explaining. *Public Opinion* guesses that the media, being leftish, are eager to lay at Mr. Reagan's door all the ills that flesh is heir to. Further, that the journalists who deal with Mr. Reagan in person actually enjoy his company and feel in some measure guilty for not disliking someone about whom the London *Spectator* has not flinched from relaying the canard that he is "the most dangerous and evil man in the world." Again, that the Presidency is an institution, an element of stability in our society, and the media are not interested in upholding our institutions (to put it most mildly). Further, that the media are deluded by the belief that they actually are in command, and they can't tolerate a Reagan incumbency that reminds them daily that their delusion is sick: that it is not Reagan, but they, who are "out of touch." Finally, it's nothing more sophisticated than Man Bites Dog. Praise Reagan, ho-hum. Toss spitballs at the White House, make headlines.

America Rules the Waves?

There are moments when what is legally correct is diplomatically wrong, and moments when that which is diplomatic is the more important of the two considerations. Here, for those who care not for the details, is what has happened in the America's Cup controversy. Of some interest in the United States. More interesting to Australia than the deployment of theater missiles in Europe.

1. The rule book specifies procedures for certifying competitors for the America's Cup.

2. The procedures do not go into the kind of detail one would need to go into if boat keels were in any way flexible. A questionnaire asks the color of "eyes" on the assumption you have two of them.

3. The *Australia* won its certificate.

4. It transpired that the *Australia*'s keel is, so to speak, flexible. The *Australia*'s keel, to continue the image, has two eyes, one blue, one brown.

5. Notwithstanding that the rule book did not anticipate any flexibility in the structure of the keel, clearly such flexibility would affect the vessel's certifiability, the New York Yacht Club people said. They might as well have said, "If you have one blue eye and one brown eye, the questionnaire asking for 'the' color of eyes was obviously insufficient to elicit the necessary information."

6. The Australians, et al., yelled like hell that the rules were being changed in midstream.

7. Let the supreme authorities decide, retorted the New York Yacht Club, preparing to turn its complaint over to the World Court, or whoever.

8. But the icy blast that followed caused the N.Y. Yacht Club to heave to; and then, finally, to come about. Its point is solid, and in future years the certifying process will certainly take into account anomalous keels. But not this time . . .

9. With the result that the *Australia* will probably win the race this time around. Bad news; but the alternative was the dissolution of SEATO. The New York Yacht Club people should put in for the Medal of Freedom.

Notes & Asides

■ To the Editor
The Chicago Tribune

Dear Sir:

In an Op-Ed column (July 31) Mr. Gilbert Cranberg of the University of Iowa's School of Journalism writes, among other things:

1. *"[George] Will at least did not formally join the Reagan Administration. It was left to another columnist to cross that line. William F. Buckley Jr. was appointed by Reagan last year to be a consultant on national security policy planning. He was paid 'reasonable and necessary expenses' for his thirty days of government service. A few eyebrows were raised at the time . . ."*

—My impression (correct me if I am wrong) is that to accept an appointment to act as an independent advisor is not to "join" an Administration. Or would you say that Chief Justice Warren "joined" the Johnson Administration when he agreed to preside over an inquiry as to who killed John F. Kennedy? The only eyebrows raised at the time, by the way, were those of Mr. Cranberg, which however are

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the most tumescent things around since Don Juan.

—During the thirty days in question, I was in Switzerland, and did not therefore in fact furnish any advice to the Administration, which fact Mr. Cranberg, if he were a little more perceptive, would have inferred from our foreign policy.

—I was never paid anything.

2. *"Buckley, like Will, fed questions to Reagan. He went beyond that to supply the answer. He told [all] about it in the illuminating two-part article he wrote for* The New Yorker *earlier this year."*

—I never fed a question to Mr. Reagan. I fed two questions to Barbara Walters. Two tough questions. Then I decided to advise Mr. Reagan that I had given these questions to Miss Walters. I did not presume to give him "an answer" to them. Indeed, there *is* no "answer" to them.

3. *"Columnists . . . should articulate the standards that govern their conduct. These standards should be disclosed to readers and editors."*

—Mr. Cranberg four paragraphs earlier had written that I wrote about the incident in *The New Yorker.* I don't know how better to divulge what are one's standards than to write about them in a national magazine and in a book (my current, *Overdrive*).

4. On the general question whether columnists should advise Presidents, Mr. Cranberg should note that I am the editor of NATIONAL REVIEW, that Mr. Reagan has said that he reads it regularly from cover to cover. Under the circumstances, it can be said that I seek to advise the President to the extent of approximately fifty thousand words per fortnight, the contents of one issue of NATIONAL REVIEW. This magazine is available not exclusively to chiefs of state—though the readership is concededly elite—but also to professors of journalism, at the relatively modest cost of $29 per year. Mr. Cranberg should subscribe, as he'd learn a lot from it, including a knowledge of logical structure, rhetorical refinement, the blessings of knowing what you are talking about before writing for publication, and the deep, dark inside of the mind of the President of the United States! Aaaargh!

Yours truly,
Wm. F. Buckley Jr.

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Thank God the Republican courted the female!

Sincerely,
Gil Harris
Delaware, Ohio

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

My nomination for your oxymoron contest: Gay Studds.

Sincerely,
Jim Shelton
Hattiesburg, Miss.

Bill:

I deny ever having submitted "Bella Abzug" as an oxymoron.

M. F. Allen
Virginia Beach, Va.

Dear Mr. Buckley:

Sadly, despite dogged perseverance, I am unable to produce a single oxymoron worthy of your contest. (As is the case with the Kennedy brothers, all the good ones have been taken.)

I do, however, have a suggestion for a follow-up: the Pravda Propaganda Prizes, to be awarded to those who best promote the concept of Soviet infallibility in the Western press.

The contest would be judged by an international panel of experts, although, in the interest of fairness, no judges from Poland, Afghanistan, or the northern region of Russia would be permitted. Although limiting nominations to stories published in the *New York Times* (or from the typewriter of Anthony Lewis) would guarantee a steady flow of credible choices, I suggest we leave the nominating process open.

The decisions of the judges would be final and winners would receive "Cuba sí, Castro no" T-shirts. What do you think?

Sincerely,
Steve Silva
Manhattan Beach, Calif.

P.S. Enclosed is my nomination for the category of "Quintessence of Ignorance," *Los Angeles Times*, July 31.

(Excerpts: "Andropov gets to work earlier than Brezhnev did . . . A Soviet leader combines political, economic, and ideological leadership. . . . How does Andropov react to polemic and objections? We do not as yet know . . . His car travels in Moscow at a normal city traffic speed . . . A new element in work style set by Andropov is the publication in the papers of reports of Politburo meetings . . . Now newspaper readers can know exactly what questions were discussed on the previous Thursday by the highest organ of the Party leadership. . . . In the past months, there have been many examples of firmness in the campaign to strengthen work discipline . . . The new leader will not accept expensive gifts from his subordinates, as Brezhnev often did . . . He has always been a professional politician . . . His dedication to work thus seems all the greater.")

Dear Mr. Silva: Fun. But of course, the above may very well be true. Andropov gives the appearance of being a very efficient executioner of Soviet policy, even as he was a very efficient executioner of Soviet dissidents for so long. But a fun idea. Cordially,

—WFB

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Get it Free!

Bill Rusher's act of treachery—giving away the house secrets—may make him rich and famous. At home, we will treat him like the Rosenbergs.

—WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, JR.

If you have ever come away from an argument feeling frustrated, this is the book for you!

Like it or not you always find yourself getting into discussions and arguments; it seems impossible to avoid nowadays. Don't you really owe it to yourself to learn how to handle such situations — how to argue and win?

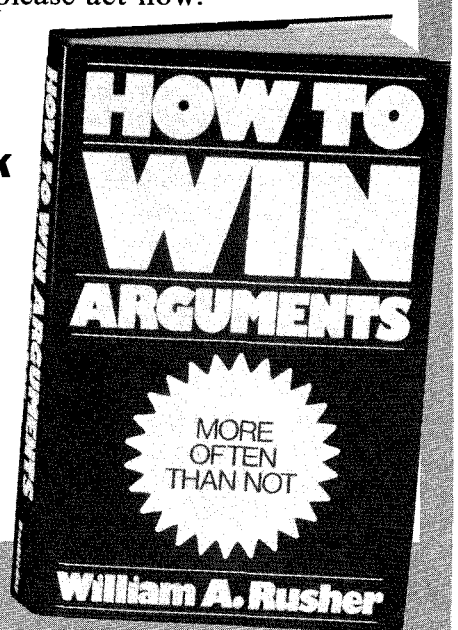
Sound difficult? Not when you have *How to Win Arguments* handy. This practical and highly entertaining book is by William A. Rusher (*National Review*'s publisher). Rusher, a professional arguer *par excellence*, is eminently qualified to show *you* how to do it well.

You've probably seen him in action on TV's *The Advocates*, *Good Morning America*, or other shows, and marveled at his effectiveness. No one seems able to put him down. At the very least he's going to give as good as he gets even when defending positions popularly assumed to be indefensible. Now in *How to Win Arguments*, Rusher lets you in on the trade secrets and shows you how to acquire the skills and techniques necessary to hold your own in any argument or discussion.

This is not a treatise full of technical jargon — it's an enjoyable, informal guide to clear thinking. It covers all the basics from how to prepare for an argument to how to handle yourself under fire to how to allow for individual strengths and styles. There's even a fascinating chapter filled with advice from other expert debaters such as William F. Buckley, Jr., Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, John Kenneth Galbraith, and Phyllis Schlafly. As the book jacket says, it is indeed an ". . . entertaining and comprehensive guide to the techniques, rhetorical devices, and principles of successful argumentation." No argument there.

Right now, with this special offer, you have the opportunity to get this valuable book (a $10.95 retail value) FREE and postpaid. All you have to do is enter a subscription to *National Review* (or renew your current one, no matter when it expires) for one year at the regular $29 rate. Simply check your instructions on the handy card opposite, and return it to us today. We'll send you your FREE copy of *How to Win Arguments* as fast as we can and you'll start getting NR hot off the press too. Offer is limited, so please act now.

To get this valuable book fill out and mail the card opposite this page today!



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FROM

Washington

JOHN McLAUGHLIN

Straight

Reagan De-Reaganizing?

SUMMER IN Washington is the silly season, and one of the sillier vagaries making the rounds is that Ronald Reagan is renouncing his Reaganism. This view is advanced by the fringe Left and by the fringe Right and, oddly, by a few sensible folk in between who think they divine a George McGovern inside Ronald Reagan screaming to get out. Anthony Lewis, of the *New York Times*, says that "everyone" knows that the President is "changing his policies—or at least changing his tune—for political reasons." In support of this, he cites Mr. Reagan's actions on hunger, racial discrimination, women's rights, education, the environment. From the Right, we are hearing that Mr. Reagan has oscillated back to his "moderate mode" and has lost his "ideological edge."

On the heels of a report from the Census Bureau that 15 per cent of the U.S. population falls at or below the poverty level, President Reagan appointed a White House Task Force on Food Assistance, declaring, "If one American child is forced to go to bed hungry at night, or if one senior citizen is denied the dignity of proper nutrition, that is a national tragedy." This upset some conservatives here, notwithstanding the President's genuine perplexity over how it is, with the food-stamp program, that people in this country still go hungry.

The President appeared before the American Bar Association and said he has an "unshakable commitment" to eliminating discrimination against women and minorities, an averment that he has been uttering for the past thirty years. Later, in trying to undo a White House foul-up whereby 18 busloads of professional women were mistakenly turned away from the East Gate, Mr. Reagan appeared before that seething assemblage in person, only to have his message berated ("degrading") by its female president. (He had said that women exert a civilizing influence on men.) Those who think that these efforts to close the gender gap presage either *metanoia* (liberals) or a dive (conservatives) should take note that simultaneously with these events, the Justice Department, under Mr. Reagan's direction, filed a brief arguing that Title IX should be understood to mean that if a school discriminates on grounds of gender, only that program which so discriminates should be denied federal aid, not the whole school. In other words, watch what Mr. Reagan does, not what he says.

The Best Defense . . .

A few weeks ago the President met with the five TV panelists of *The McLaughlin Group* (hosted by this columnist) and proceeded to send two of the conservatives present (Pat Buchanan and Robert Novak) into orbit by saying that one of the reasons for the Russian grain deal was that "we're trying to indicate to the Soviet Union that we don't have to be nose-to-nose." Overlooked by these worthies was the President's flat-out assertion, with just a trace of sarcasm, in the same sentence, "I don't subscribe to the détente philosophy which says that if we unilaterally do all the nice things, why they'll just know we're nice fellows and they'll roll over to them, too."

Also overlooked is that Mr. Reagan has yielded not one whit on START or the Pershing/cruise missile December emplacement; that the U.S. has pugnaciously chased Muammar el-Qaddafi's jets back into the Gulf of Sidra; sent AWACS to Chad; sold more than $500 million worth of jets to Taiwan, despite Peking; granted asylum to tennis star Hu Na, despite Peking; pushed hard for and got through Congress the MX, binary nerve gas, and the B-1 bomber; sent gunboats and military troops on maneuvers to Central America; and insisted that he would cut non-defense spending, not the military budget, to reduce the deficit. On the domestic side, overlooked are Mr. Reagan's unabated opposition to ERA and abortion and his unabated support of school prayer and tuition tax credits.

Is it a good idea for Ronald Reagan to play on the other guy's (gal's) turf? Some, especially the rigid Right, say no: It is too defensive and entails sellout. But isn't it just the opposite, offensive? Before the 1936 election, Franklin Roosevelt talked to many groups totally unsupportive of him and his policies—industrialists, bankers, businessmen. FDR changed his rhetoric artfully, but changed his New Dealism not one iota (lamentably). His second-term election against Alf Landon was one of the biggest landslides ever.

Presenting His Case

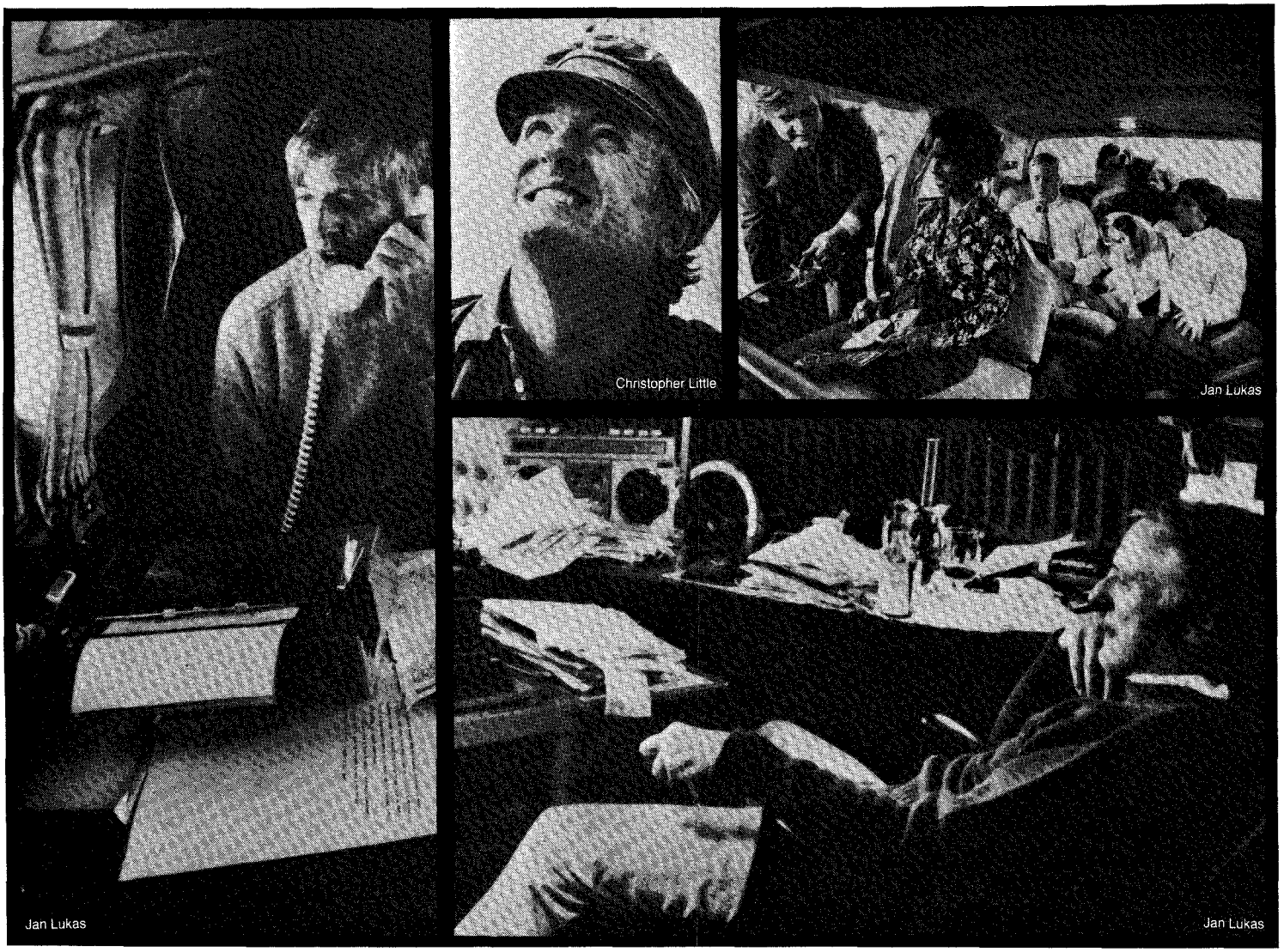
Ronald Reagan is doing his FDR number. He is saying that he stands for the same goals and concerns that these antagonistic groups stand for; only methods differ. Mr. Reagan says to the blacks (and minorities) that not only does he do more to contribute to their betterment by his economic reforms than their own leaders, but that he offers them what their leaders do not, namely, enhanced self-respect, the chance to start on an equal footing so that they can accomplish as much as anyone else.

Oh, Mr. Reagan will not win over the blacks any more than FDR won over the bankers. But the people at large will see him doing battle on his opposition's turf, arguing his ideas and his case. This is what builds respect and pulls votes.

If Mr. Reagan were to bill himself, in effect, as President of Conservatives (as some conservatives would wish), and therefore generate the perception that large groups are excluded from his concern, he could kiss re-election adieu. "You can't make people feel guilty because they vote for you," says one Reagan staffer, and a tough-minded conservative at that.

The happy note about Ronald Reagan of late is that for the first time he is beginning to look like the President of all Americans, even of those with whom he adamantly disagrees, and he is accomplishing this with no dilution of his values or long-held beliefs. That's why he should go on playing on the other guy's (gal's) turf. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



You are cordially invited to spend a week inside the mind, life and times of William F. Buckley, Jr.

—At his desk, harpsichord, and favorite restaurant table; on camera, at the lecture platform, on Long Island Sound; in conference, in controversy, in his limousine getting (at greater than engine speed) from one place to the next.

It is by conventional standards an extraordinary week—although not an untypical one for Bill Buckley. As John Leonard explains in his *Vanity Fair* review, "When Buckley goes to the theater, the theater he goes to is *Nicholas Nickleby*. When he must change a seating plan for lunch, he can substitute our ambassador to the United Nations for the Vice President of the United States. When he is about to tape a television program with the governor of Kentucky, the telephone call that interrupts him is from Ronald Reagan. This is life in the fast (right) lane."

Bringing us into conversation with artists, writers, politicians, convicts, family, and friends, *Overdrive* gives us an inside view of one of the few contemporary public figures regularly described as a "Renaissance man." Still, Mr. Leonard asks: "Buckley may be ubiquitous, but why is he necessary?" And immediately answers: "Because he is *not* a dilettante. He isn't tired of *anything*. Buckley is busily serious. Citizenship for most of us is a hobby; for him it is a calling."

Kurt Vonnegut, Jr. has described Buckley as "a man who has won the decathlon of human existence." In this autobiography of one week, he tells what he does, why he does it—and to an astonishing extent, provides insights into our own lives at the closing years of the century.

OVERDRIVE

A PERSONAL DOCUMENTARY BY WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, JR.

A Literary Guild Alternate Selection **doubleday**

Portions of this book originally appeared in *The New Yorker.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Caribbean Scourge

The Protracted Conflict

BRIAN CROZIER

PROFESSIONAL historians frown upon one of my favorite games, which is to pose such questions as:

What would have happened if General Sanjurjo's overloaded plane had not crashed at the start of the Spanish Civil War, so that he and not Franco had led the Nationalists?

What would have happened if de Gaulle had died in 1962 when he had brought peace to Algeria but before he pulled out of NATO's military organization and shouted "*Vive le Québec libre*"?

Or, for instance, if the British had arranged an accident for Ho Chi Minh when he was in jail in Hong Kong, or if Fidel Castro had died in his quixotic attack on the Moncada barracks on July 26, 1953, instead of surviving to supplant Batista?

I defend my little game, however, for I know of no better way to evaluate the life of a statesman and his place in history than to imagine that the said life had been cut short.

The Castro Record

The last of my questions is the one that most interests us today, now that Castro's *26 de julio* movement is thirty years old, plus a week or two. Well, for a start, I dare say *somebody* would have overthrown Batista, but the traditional pattern of caudillo succeeding caudillo might well have been maintained.

In that event, there would have been no KGB take-over of the Dirección General de Inteligencia (there being no DGI to take over), no Cuban missile crisis in 1962, no Che Guevara to inspire deluded youth in 1968, no airlift of Cuban troops to Angola and Ethiopia, no Sandinista take-over in Nicaragua, no civil war in El Salvador; and no comeback of Henry Kissinger to head President Reagan's special commission on Central America. To be responsible for so much disturbance in the world is an achievement of a kind. Meanwhile, it is distressing that no solution has been found (and perhaps, dare I say it, even thought about seriously) to the most intractable problem faced by the West in the great confrontation with the Soviet Union: how to deal with the situation that arises when Moscow's agents overthrow a government anywhere and replace it with Moscow stooges that appeal to the USSR for military aid in whatever difficulties they face.

When respectable newspapers in London start wringing their hands over Washington's Central American policy, I get worried, as I do when I read, anywhere, that the United States is "heading for another Vietnam."

To give an example, London's *Sunday Times* on July 24 told its readers that by the forthcoming display of U.S. naval strength, military maneuvers in Honduras, "and other applications of the 'big stick' technique to Latin American difficulties," the United States was guilty, yet again, of overreacting. The CIA's activities against Nicaragua, it appears, have "rallied opinion behind the central government." And, "American 'big stick' policies could open, instead of closing, the door to Cuban and Soviet influence in the area."

Right. Having decided (on what evidence I know not) that the Sandinista government is popular again, and that the Cubans and Soviets are going to be influential in the area (as if they had not been, these past few years), the *Sunday Times* faces up manfully to the inevitable question: "What would *you* do about it?"

Ah, well, that's not so easy as complaining about the big stick. Let's see: "It is unrealistic to advise Washington to sit still and do nothing." So it's all right to try to teach the Salvadoran forces to behave themselves like gentlemen. But the real hope—wait for it—lies in responding to the appeal of the so-called Contadora group of "four well-intentioned Latin American regimes" (Mexico, Colombia, Panama, and Venezuela).

How difficult it is, to be sure, to be a liberal. You have to make an effort to understand the other chap's point of view, so you bend over backward to explain that the U.S. would naturally be worried if the Caribbean area went Communist, just as the British would be alarmed if East European-style regimes took over in France and Germany.

On the other hand, you don't like war, so you advise the U.S. to stay out of the war that's already going on there, and you invite Reagan and Castro to sit down and talk things over.

For what, after all, are the Contadora leaders proposing? President Miguel de la Madrid of Mexico issued a call in the names of the four leaders for Reagan and Castro to participate in peace talks. And a joint communiqué called for a prohibition of all foreign military bases in Central America and a freeze on offensive weapons there.

Another Vietnam

For good measure, Mr. Denis Healey, fresh from his share in the electoral rout of the Labour Party in June, wrote to the chairman of the Foreign Affairs and Foreign Relations committees of Congress to argue that United States involvement with rebels opposing the left-wing regime in Nicaragua could start another Vietnam. Where, oh where, has one heard that argument before?

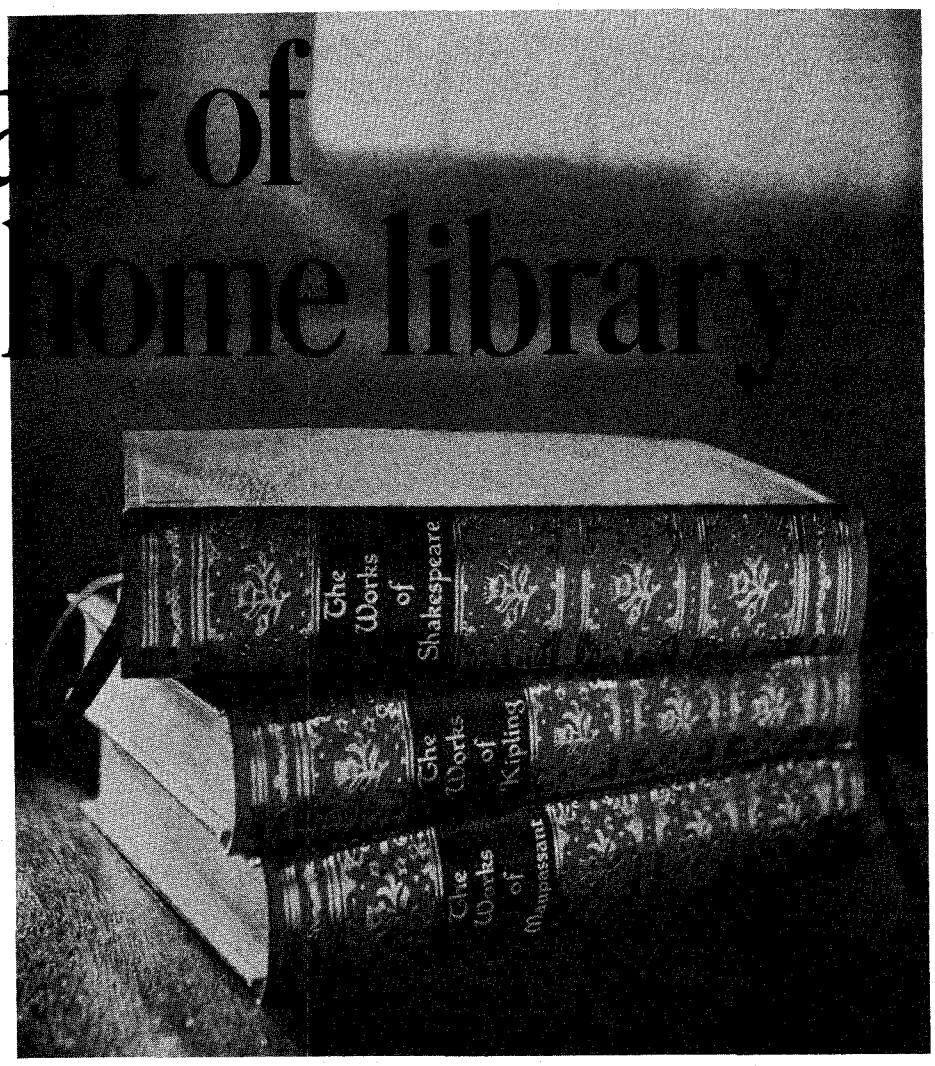
To be serious, the reason why this distant wringing of hands (distant, that is, from the events in question) worries me is that the more such things are said, in Britain, France, and Germany—the more they are said in the U.S. itself—the more the United States will, in fact, be "heading for another Vietnam." For the American side was not defeated militarily in Vietnam: It simply lost the will and the stomach to continue the fight. Such wars, we know, are won or lost on Western television screens. "Heading for Vietnam" is the kind of self-fulfilling prophecy that the other side's propagandists are so good at disseminating.

As for talks between Reagan and Castro, it is hard to see what possible useful purpose they might serve. You don't argue with arsonists or bank robbers, you put them out of harm's way. Troubles such as beset El Salvador and Guatemala are not, with all respect, due to decades of poverty, social deprivation, and political instability, but to the exploitation of such factors by Marxist-Leninists and other revolutionary forces.

So long as Fidel Castro is allowed to get away with it, the troubles will go on. Has he not been in power long enough? Has he not caused enough suffering, to his own people, and to other peoples as a surrogate imperialist? □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The start of a fine home library



Let us send you, for the token price of only $1 each, three books that have served as cornerstones in many a fine home library.

The complete works of Shakespeare

This beautiful 1300-page volume contains every word Shakespeare ever wrote. All 37 of his comedies, tragedies, and historical dramas including Hamlet, Romeo and Juliet, Macbeth, etc. Also all of his poems and sonnets.

The works of Kipling

Actually eight books in one. A complete novel and 139 stories, ballads and verses loved the world over, including Mandalay, Gunga Din, The Phantom Rickshaw, etc.

The works of De Maupassant

128 matchless tales by the acknowledged master of the short story. Every story complete and unexpurgated: The Diamond Necklace, A Piece of String, The Will, etc.

Each volume is clothed in a handsomely-tooled binding of antique ecru with both the elegant look and feel of leather.

You will enjoy reading these books, just as millions before you have. Your friends will admire them, perhaps even envy you for owning them. And your children will gain a real advantage with books like these always close at hand.

We offer you three books of this calibre for only $1 each to introduce you to our new Golden Giants Series. We think you will be impressed. And we hope you will want to own others in the Series, as they become available, including:

Hugo. 36 complete works including Hunchback of Notre Dame, A Woman of the Streets, The Souls.

Stevenson. 39 novels, stories, poems. Treasure Island, Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, Kidnaped, etc.

Doyle. All the best of Sherlock Holmes—The Sign of The Four, Red-Headed League, plus other works.

Poe. 91 works: Annabel Lee, The Raven, The Gold Bug, Murders in the Rue Morgue, etc.

The full series will also include the works of Cellini, Wilde, Ibsen, Browning, Longfellow, Emerson, Dostoevsky, Byron and many others.

Normally, you would expect to pay $12 each or more for deluxe editions of books like these. But our direct-to-the-public method of book distribution (which we have specialized in for over 50 years) lets us make these volumes available for only $10.35 each, plus shipping.

Send no money now. Simply mail coupon to get your first three volumes for only $1 each, plus shipping, and to reserve the privilege of examining future volumes as they come from the press.

You will receive advance description of all upcoming volumes. You may reject any book before or after you receive it. And you may cancel your reservation any time you wish.

Mail coupon to: Black's Readers Service, Roslyn, New York 11576.

Regularly $31.05. Now only $1 each.

PUBLISHED BY
WALTER J. BLACK, INC.
ESTABLISHED 1923

Black's Readers Service

ROSLYN, NEW YORK 11576

Please enroll me as a subscriber and send me at once SHAKESPEARE, KIPLING and DE MAUPASSANT. I enclose *no money now*. After a week's examination, I will either keep my books and pay $3 (plus shipping) or return them.

Also reserve for me additional volumes in the Golden Giants of Literature Series. As a subscriber, I will get advance descriptions of future volumes. For each volume I choose, I will pay just $10.35 (plus shipping). I may return any book, for full credit within 21 days and I may cancel my reservation at any time.

MR./MRS./MS. _____ 3-FB
(Please print plainly)

ADDRESS _____ G02D7T

CITY & STATE _____ ZIP _____

Note: Subscribers accepted in U.S.A. and Canada only; offer slightly different in Canada.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RICHARD McKENZIE

The High Cost of FREE SPEECH

People like you and me, though mortal, of course, like everyone else, do not grow old no matter how long we live. What I mean is that we never cease to stand like curious children before the great Mystery into which we are born. This interposes a distance between us and all that is unsatisfactory in the human sphere—and this is no small matter. When, in the mornings, I become nauseated by the news the New York Times *sets before us, I always reflect that it is anyway better than the Hitlerism that we only barely managed to finish off.*

Albert Einstein
Letter to Julius Berger

IT WAS ONE OF several political cartoons carried on the editorial page of a Midwestern paper one Sunday in July 1979. The name of the paper has been forgotten, but the cartoon is too graphic to forget. Five vultures were perched in a row on a limb of a denuded tree; the head of a Supreme Court justice—Burger, Stewart, Stevens, Rehnquist, and Powell—topped each avian body. Below them lay the mutilated carcass of what was labeled the First Amendment. The vultures were obviously satisfied with their meal.

The justices caricatured that Sunday had not too many weeks before formed the deciding majority in *Gannett Company, Inc.* v. *De Pasquale*. In that case a lower court had precluded press access to the records of a pretrial hearing. The Supreme Court, in agreeing with the lower court, ruled that the right of a defendant to a fair trial outweighed the constitutional right of the press and public to gain access to the proceedings. The cartoonist, as well as editorial writers around the country, was outraged by the decision, suggesting in his work that once again the Supreme Court had abridged the press's basic First Amendment rights.

Earlier in the year the Supreme Court made another important ruling against the press in *Pennington* v. *Kansas*. In investigating a murder, a newspaper reporter cited an unidentified source who claimed he had heard a third party threaten the murder victim's life. The reporter refused to divulge his source, claiming First Amendment protection under the Constitution. A lower court held the reporter in contempt. Again, the Supreme Court reasoned that the rights of the defendant to a fair trial outweighed, on balance, any rights the press might have to confidentiality. The decision stunned the press.

In reporting on the *Gannett* case for *Newsweek* magazine, Aric Press and Diane Camper wrote with a tempered sense of moral indignation: "Most Americans have assumed that secret trials have no place in their judicial tradition. Evils perpetrated behind the locked doors of the British courts led the Founding Fathers to guarantee public criminal trials in their new Constitution, and a courtroom where every person can be judged openly by his peers has become a symbol of freedom." Their report gave considerable prominence to the comments of Allen Neuharth, president of Gannett, the country's largest newspaper chain, who stated, "I have no hesitancy in saying that the majority of the Supreme Court has indicated that they consider the judiciary to be a private club. They're signaling, 'Your chambers and your courtroom belong to you, not to the public.'" And Press and Camper concluded their article with a cheap shot, "Few journalists can realistically expect the Court to find them privileged characters. For the moment, the press has been put on the same level with the citizenry it seeks to enlighten." We must ask: Did the Founding Fathers intend the press (which is composed of people) to be on a social and legal pedestal separate from the "commoners"?

Again, in mid-1981 the Supreme Court handed down its decision in the case of Philip Agee, who in 1974 began a campaign to damage the CIA and to reveal the names of CIA agents. Cyrus Vance, Secretary of State in the Carter Administration, had in 1979 revoked Agee's passport for violating the contract that Agee had freely signed with the CIA and that restrained Agee from talking about his work. In a 7 to 2 decision the Supreme Court upheld Secretary Vance's revocation of Agee's passport; and "for the next 48 hours," wrote columnist James Jackson Kilpatrick, "a bystander might have believed the sky had fallen. The *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* erupted with moans and groans. A huddle of Harvard professors collapsed in heaves and sighs." According to many in the press, the Supreme Court ruling was a clear violation of the press's First Amendment protection: The ruling would have a chill-

---

Mr. McKenzie is a senior fellow at the Heritage Foundation in Washington on leave from the Economics Department of Clemson University. *This article is adapted from Mr. McKenzie's book,* Bound to Be Free, *just published by Hoover Institution Press.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing effect on the willingness of people to disagree with their government.

The important issue here is not the legal correctness of any particular Supreme Court decision. Rather, it is the dual attitude of much (but not by any means all) of the press (and much of the public) toward government regulation. On the one hand, the press, in general, as evidenced by its predictable reaction to recent Supreme Court decisions, has an obvious disdain for any suggestion that its activities be clipped, restrained, or regulated by government. It clings tenaciously and justifiably to the freedoms articulated for it in the Constitution. The First Amendment is a part of the press's professional armor—deservedly so.

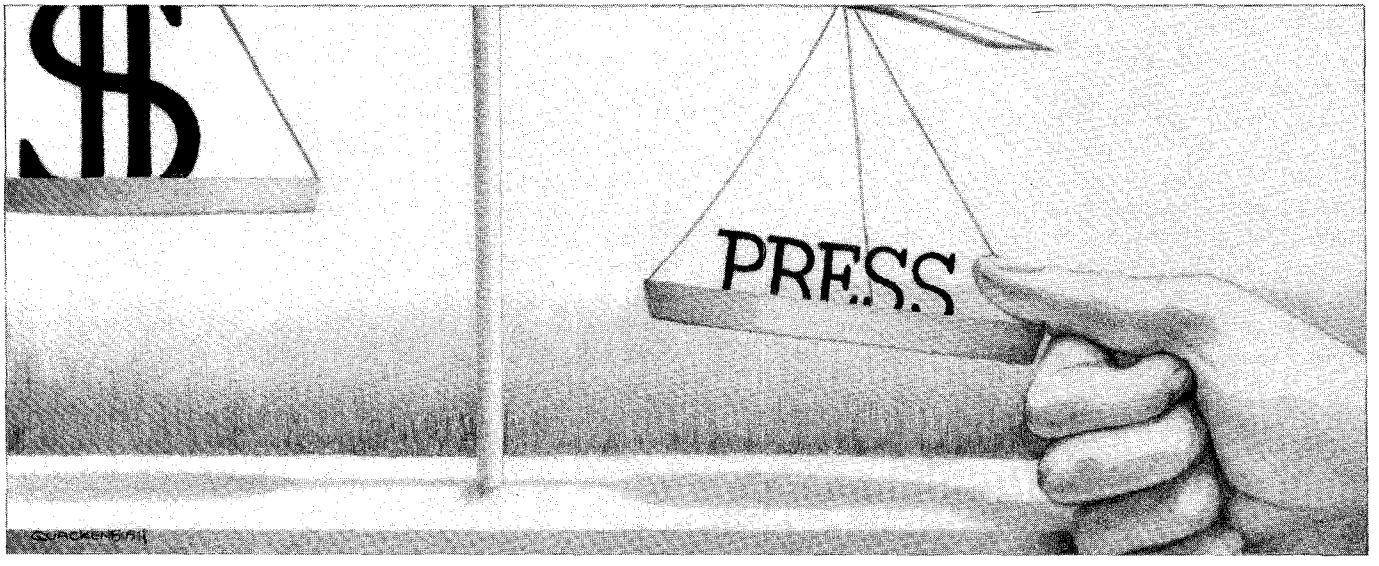
On the other hand, a significant portion of the press is often among the first to point out the need for government regulation of this or that industry. Reporters object strenuously to any requirement that they divulge their sources, open their newsrooms to search by the police, testify before grand juries, turn over their notes to courts, and restrict what they write. But many of these same reporters see no harm in the government's requiring other industries to divulge sensitive information relating to their products, to meet officially established standards, to pay legal minimum wage rates, to design facilities to meet government safety standards, and to charge the prices set by government fiat.

Much of the press assumes that there is a clear philosophical, categorical distinction between its activity and the activities of other industries. But this distinction is completely arbitrary. Such vagaries make a poor foundation for a social philosophy of government.

Most people in the press and in society's intellectual circles who favor freedom of speech and of the press, and at the same time advocate government control of various industries, seem to imagine that the material of their labor differs substantively from the products of other private enterprises. They deal in "ideas," so the argument goes; others produce more mundane goods and services, "material" that appeals to the flesh and the senses, not the cerebrum. They view freedom of speech and of the press, but not freedom of the market, as an extension of freedom of thought. Ideas are ideas: elusive, ephemeral, and difficult to regulate without controlling human thought itself. Goods, on the other hand, are goods: identifiable, tangible, largely distinct from thought itself. Ideas are creations of the human mind (and spirit), and they are important because of the (presumed) uniquely human capacity for thought and reason. Freedom to think and reason, so the argument may be developed, is necessary if people are to be human and not just animal. Goods and services, however, embody real-world resources that other animals share, although in other forms.

This presumed distinction between free speech and the free market is misleading at best and a gross distortion of the facts at worst. The production of goods like furniture requires many resources—land, material, labor, and capital. But the fruits of the press (or any other intellectual discourse) are also products of long and complicated production processes involving the use of many resources like gasoline, textiles, food, electricity, and telephone communications, which are subject to extensive government controls. Indeed, the final product of the press appears to be far more physical than the final product of an electric power company or of a psychological counseling service. Any good reporter understands that it takes time (labor) to gather the facts of a story, to mold them into an article, and to see it through the newsroom to the newsstand. A good deal of capital—real and financial—is involved in making free speech and free press a meaningful social phenomenon. The press is a capitalist enterprise dependent on a capitalist system. How free would the press be if ownership of all press-room facilities were not private? If all property were controlled by the government, the "news" would not be worth the paper it is printed on.

True, the final product of the press incorporates ideas that at times concern the most critical issues of our age. The press provides an invaluable public forum for evaluating these issues. However, so-called material goods and services also embody ideas that are often no less critical to people's welfare than the ideas on the front page of the morning newspaper. Consider the complexity of the ideas incorporated into the design and construction of an automobile, a building, or a toaster. Is there any intrinsic reason why ideas inked on newsprint should qualify for any greater protection from government controls than the ideas incorporated into the structure of a garment, a bicycle, or a home? My purpose in indicating the similarities of "ideas



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in print and speech" and "ideas in goods" is not to defame freedom of the press and of speech (as well as of religion). Quite the contrary, it is to suggest that freedom of the market should be accorded much the same government protection as our political freedoms—for they also are largely political freedoms.

Advocates of free speech and government control of other production processes sometimes argue that goods and services produced by private industries can be harmful to people's health and general well-being. Indeed, they can kill. Cigarettes and guns are good examples. Hence, government must protect people from these goods and services, from the abuse of those who would use unrestricted market freedom to their own advantage.

As intuitively appealing as the argument sounds, it falls flat as a justification for a dual approach to the control of speech and of markets. Freedom of speech and of the press, like cigarettes, can also be hazardous to people's health—and no less deadly than many mundane material goods and services. People have died because someone stood up in a crowded theater or stadium and yelled "fire," or because the press reported strategic military and intelligence information. (Consider the death of Richard Welch, the CIA agent who was killed shortly after his name was revealed by the press under the constitutional protection of the First Amendment.) The Reverend Jim Jones, through his own exercise of the freedoms of speech, press, and religion, led more than nine hundred of his followers first to Guyana, then (with a little coercion) to their suicidal deaths. Social expressions of freedoms of speech, press, and religion are often deadly. Sometimes, extraordinarily deadly. Hitler and others like him rose to power partly because they were free to speak and to convince others, through print and oratory, that they were the true light and salvation of their times.

One of the strongest arguments of proponents of basic First Amendment rights is: "We do not know which ideas are 'right' when any issue is first discussed. Indeed, we do not even know what issues, out of the whole range of issues, warrant public consideration. People must have the freedom not only to speak their own minds but also to listen to others. They need to hear all competing ideas not only because they will be well informed on the range of issues, but also because they will be in a reasonably good position to evaluate competing issues and choose the best course of action under the circumstances."

If this argument is intended to show that freedom of speech is distinct from freedom of markets, it is, again, seriously flawed. We understandably think of markets as dealing with things because things are readily observable. However, we could just as easily view markets as processes by which ideas, incorporated in things, are traded. Indeed, socially recognized rights to do things are the real substance of trade. Furthermore, as with the freedom of speech or religion, we often cannot identify, beforehand, the particular ideas embodied in goods and services wanted by most people. We must allow an individual the freedom to test his ideas in order that he may learn what goods and services—are actually preferred. In short, a free market is, like free speech, a competitive process in ideas. We need both freedoms for essentially similar reasons.

Some seem to think that freedom of speech takes preeminence over other freedoms because freedom of speech is necessary in order to prevent any one person from having control over what ideas are actually considered and what courses of action are actually taken. Freedom of speech, it is argued, gives everyone some power to speak his or her mind, ensuring as best we can that no idea is accepted solely because it is the only alternative available. The freedoms of speech, press, and religion are social means of decentralizing the power that some people have over others. By giving people the freedom to speak, we deny people the freedom to coerce others to think or accept any particular ideas. We deny government the right to restrict the freedom of speech simply because we want to deny some people (those who would govern) the rights to impose their ideas on us. The case for the free market has the same philosophical basis: Free markets limit the power of people to coerce one another; they allow for competition and, therefore, voluntary actions. Free, unregulated markets are a means of delimiting the monopoly power of government to determine which goods and services we will have.

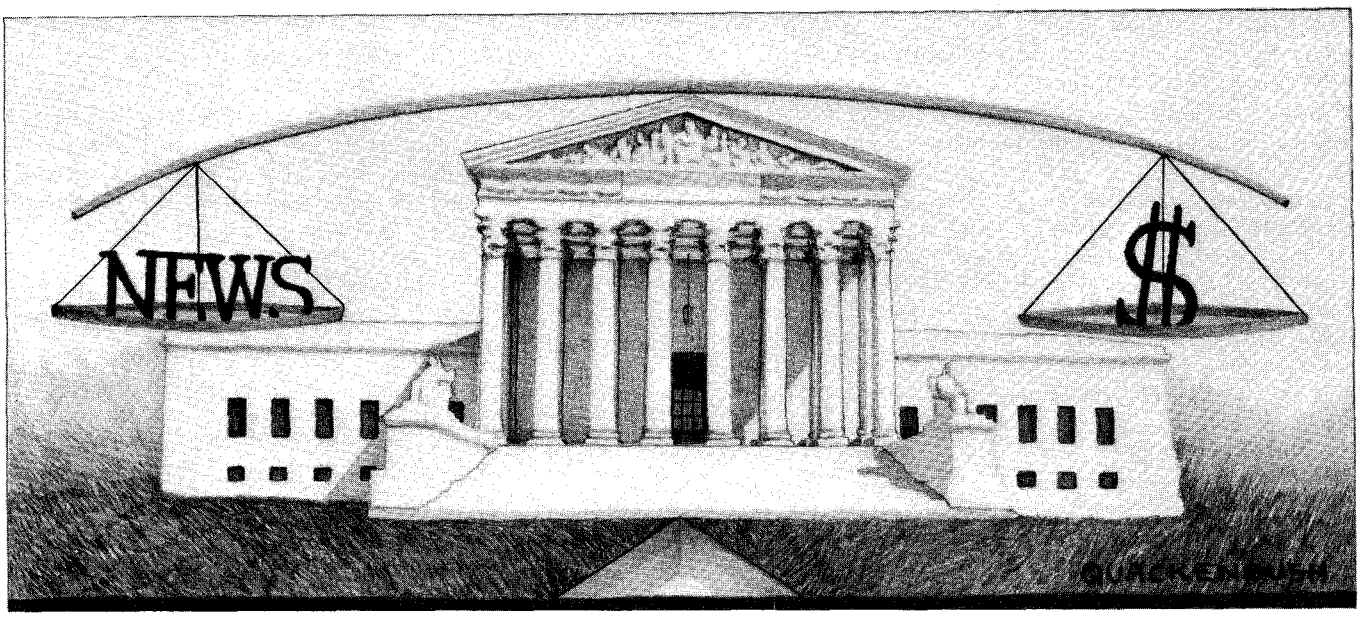
Opponents of the free market suggest that freedom of speech means little if speech cannot be used to influence government to accept a particular policy course, such as restricting the scope of market activities through regulation. They may contend with good intentions that in a democracy everyone has a right to voice an opinion and everyone must accept the verdict of the "competition of ideas" worked out through the political process. This position reveals a gross confusion of basic issues.

In its purest form, freedom of speech is a means of restricting the power of people, of attempting to ensure as much as possible that coercion is minimized. Freedom of speech means the freedom to persuade, not to coerce; to elicit voluntary cooperation, not to impose one's will on another. To make freedom of speech meaningful, the scope of democracy must necessarily be restricted. Otherwise, freedom of speech can easily translate into a coercive power that one person or group, through the state, imposes on others.

There are ten amendments in the Bill of Rights. Sometimes it seems that the press is so busy defending the first one that it is hard to get equal time for the others

Granted, no nation can effectively organize without some government, and some issues must be decided by democratic means. That point is well taken and forms the heart of much that has been written. The point here is relatively simple: As the scope and size of government are extended, the freedom of some people to speak and win in the political arena with less than unanimous agreement translates into government force and a loss to others of freedom from coercion. As government expands, the unanimity of agreement—so necessary to social tranquillity—over

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



government policy must evaporate; disagreement will become the hallmark of social discourse; freedom of speech will take on a coercive quality.

Many factions of society now harbor serious resentment toward the press. Both the political Left and political Right denigrate it for its failure to report the "truth." Its freedom to print what it considers news is interpreted by others, now that government is large and expansive, as the power to influence public events and, thereby, as the power to coerce.

Journalist William Cheshire has written, "The press is powerful—more powerful than in any previous period in all history—and power and humility are strangers." The unchecked power of the press and public skepticism toward it derive, I suggest, from the unchecked power of the government and the ability of the press to set the national political agenda and, in that way and to that extent, to influence and manipulate the government's power. Surely, the press would have less power than at present, and people would be less concerned about the accuracy of news reporting, if government were small and inconsequential. When government is constrained in what it can do, there are few public policies the press can influence by accurate or inaccurate reporting; there is little the press can do to affect taxes or budget allocations.

Almost all supporters of free speech see its suppression as a denial of valuable information that people need to conduct their daily lives effectively. It can be argued with equal vigor, however, that the suppression of market forces by government controls also muffles valuable information that should be available to the public. It is, in short, a gross form of censorship, as Walter Wriston, chairman of Citicorp, has poignantly observed:

> The American press would not tolerate for one moment an attempt by the government to suppress news of riots or political demonstrations on the grounds that it wants to "ensure domestic tranquillity." The press knows a threat to the First Amendment when it sees one.
>
> There are ten amendments in the Bill of Rights, although sometimes it seems that the press is so busy defending the first one that it is hard to get equal time for the other nine.
>
> Let me recall one of them—the Ninth Amendment—which few people ever read any more, let alone defend. It says: "The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people." Is something being disparaged when the [Carter Administration's] chief inflation-fighter tells a group of businessmen that "We will, with a degree of enthusiasm that I suspect many of you may consider unseemly, identify the miscreants [those who violate President Carter's 'voluntary' wage-price guidelines] publicly"?

When the Department of Energy sends out agents with binoculars to spy on filling-station operators to ensure that they are not "overcharging," as it did in 1979, government is engaging in a form of censorship. Would the press not be outraged if similar surveillance were directed at it? When government becomes large and expansive, as it has, does it begin to dominate the flow of information and acquire a de facto power of censorship simply by its prominence in the total production of information?

The problem of government control of information is by no means trivial. In reporting on a General Accounting Office study of government information activities and on the public-relations activities of just 48 agencies, *U.S. News & World Report* concluded that "the Federal Government spends more money each year trying to influence the way people think than it spends altogether for disaster relief, foreign military assistance, energy conservation, and cancer research. The Watergate era has led many people to believe that the press is constantly dogging the federal bureaucracy for information that the latter does not want to see the light of day. Solid investigative reporting does occur. However, as columnist Joseph Kraft has pointed out,

> In the typical Washington situation, news is not nosed out by keen reporters and then purveyed to the public. It is manufactured inside government, by various interested parties for purposes of its own, and then put out to the press in ways and at times that suit the sources. That is how it happens that when the President prepares a message on crime, all the leading columnists suddenly become concerned with crime. That is how it happens that when the Air Force budget comes up for consideration, some new plane will streak across the continent in record time.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The freedoms of speech, press, and religion are very important. Nothing said here is intended to deny that. On the contrary, I have attempted to show that the case for the free market is quite similar to that for free speech. In the words of University of Chicago Professor Ronald Coase:

> I do not believe that this distinction between the market for goods and the market for ideas is valid. There is no fundamental difference between these two markets and, in deciding on public policy with regard to them, we need to take into account the same considerations. In all of these markets, producers have some reason for being honest and some for being dishonest; consumers have some information but are not fully informed or even able to digest the information they have; regulators commonly wish to do a good job, and though often incompetent and subject to influence of special interests, they act like this because, like all of us, they are human beings whose strongest motives are not always the highest.

Our rights under freedom of speech and freedom of markets are limited. They must be. In the case of free speech, unlimited freedom for all would make the world resemble a Tower of Babel, with no one able to communicate effectively with anyone else. In the case of free markets, unlimited freedom would mean nonexistent property rights and nonexistent markets. Unlimited freedom, therefore, is a contradiction in terms. Free speech and free markets are both means of socially restricting people to ensure that power is dispersed and that coercion is minimized.

Many members of the press believe that they were anointed by the Founding Fathers with special privileges and protections from the coercive powers of government

Freedoms everywhere can be and have been abused. We have noted that the Reverend Jim Jones abused, in a sense, the freedom of speech. Abuse, however, is not a sufficient case for abandoning freedom of speech or press or religion as guiding social principles. The press would be the first to admit to abuse of freedom within its own camp—but it would also be the first to defend vigorously the *principles* on which its activities rest. Freedom of speech is intrinsically valuable—but it is also intrinsically practical. So is freedom of the market. Instances of abuse of market freedoms can easily be recounted. Those of us who seek to defend the market need not—indeed, should not—deny that fact. There are only two relevant questions: Has the free market served us well? And, is freedom of expression in markets just as important as freedom of expression in print?

The case for the free market is not a case for "no government intervention." Any suggestion to the contrary makes about as much sense as the suggestion that there is no circumstance under which freedom of the press needs to be curtailed. Freedoms and rights often collide and tradeoffs are required. (Consider the cases of *Gannett* and *Pennington*.) The case for the free market is an argument for a predisposition, a social proclivity, toward freedom and against control; for extraordinary caution in shaping government policy; and for the use of principles in the conduct of public policy. That is the way we interpret First Amendment freedoms; that is the way we need to interpret freedom of the market.

Why is much of the press antipathetic toward the free market? To some extent the answer is baffling. The opposition of some segments of the press to the free market may be due to its inability to understand sweeping social issues. Members of the press are continually pushed to get to the scene of the latest fire and to reduce complex situations to a few inches of newsprint or to sixty-second spots on the nightly television news.

Many members of the press may believe that they were anointed by the Founding Fathers with special privileges and special protection from the coercive powers of government. To assume such an attitude, however, the press must overlook the Fifth and Ninth Amendments, as well as a series of court rulings during the early years of the nation that upheld market freedoms. As Alexander Hamilton wrote in the *Federalist*, expressing his concern about the delineation of rights, "The people surrender nothing; and as they retain everything, they have no need of particular reservations," to which he added:

> I go further, and affirm that bills of rights, in the sense and to the extent in which they are contended for, are not only unnecessary in the proposed Constitution, but would even be dangerous. They would contain various exceptions to powers not granted; and, on this very account, would afford a colorful pretext to claim more than were granted. For why declare that things shall not be done which there is no power to do? Why, for instance, should it be said that the liberty of the press shall not be restrained, when no power is given by which restrictions are imposed? I would contend that such a provision would confer a regulatory power; but it is evident that it would furnish, to men disposed to usurp, a plausible pretense for claiming that power.

Perhaps, the press's opposition to the free market may also be due to the realization of reporters and editorial writers that they are indirectly competing with other industries for the attention and spendable income of the general public.

Or maybe the reason for the opposition to free markets among segments of the press is even less benign. Journalists may implicitly recognize that the market represents a bound on government and, hence, a bound on the power of those who would use government. By destroying the predisposition of the general public to respect and rely on market processes, some members of the press may consciously envision the enhancement of their own power. In other words, the press may be antagonistic toward the free market because the market represents a constraint on its own power. If this is the way members of the press think, then the game they are playing is a dangerous one. Journalists and others who live by First Amendment protection may think that government can be used to control every industry except the press. That may not, in the long run, be the case. Power unleashed may be power difficult to contain. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NOTICE
aterial may be
ed by copyright
tle 17 U.S. Code).

THE 'BABY DOE' REGS

Should Imperfect Infants Survive?

STEVEN BAER

REAL LIFE finds the principle that justice is blind embodied—all too often—*in* all-too-human custodians, black-robed and fraught with biases, inherently prone to err. One such mortal is Gerhard Gesell, federal judge for the District of Columbia.

The son of the famous child psychologist and pediatrician Arnold Gesell, Gerhard Gesell studied law at Yale University, the same prestigious institution with which his father was associated. No one would have seemed better qualified to consider the suit that the American Academy of Pediatrics brought to challenge a new federal regulation that required the posting of warning signs in hospital nurseries. "DISCRIMINATORY FAILURE TO FEED AND CARE FOR HANDICAPPED INFANTS IN THIS FACILITY," the signs said, "IS PROHIBITED BY FEDERAL LAW." Violations of that civil-rights law —the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, Section 504—were to be reported via an emergency number listed on the signs.

The regulation had been promulgated by the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) after the death of "Infant Doe," a newborn who last year was starved to death in an Indiana hospital. The child had received a tentative diagnosis of Down's syndrome, a normally mild form of mental deficiency, and his parents, physician, and the Indiana courts had decided that all parties, including Infant Doe, would be better off if he was dead.

But disability-rights groups disagreed, finding nothing just (nor merciful) in the child's suffering and death. The Association for Retarded Citizens, the Down's Syndrome Congress, the Spina Bifida Association of America, and the American Coalition of Citizens with Disabilities joined together and filed a brief supporting the regulation. Judge Gesell, however, sided with the doctors.

The regulation, he ruled, "fails to satisfy the test of rationality . . . Any anonymous tipster" could unleash federal "'Baby Doe' squads on the scene, monopolizing physician and nurse time and making hospital charts and records unavailable during treatment." Such a circumstance "can hardly be presumed to produce higher-quality care for the infant."

Hardly. Unless, of course, the disruption brought about by this imaginative caricature of a federal civil-rights investigation was also to disrupt the intentional starvation of a disabled child. A "Baby Doe squad" would certainly have heightened the quality of care of Baby Doe in Indiana.

Not only would the "arbitrary and capricious" regulation upset nurseries and filing systems, Gesell wrote, it would force children to be removed from hospitals and create unfair new malpractice standards. He asserted, further, that the notices, stating the duly established law of the land, would cause "economic, emotional, and marital" hardships for the families.

A Lethal Option

The real problem is this: Judge Gesell, responsible for dispensing justice to the people, seems to doubt that handicapped children *are* people.

The Rehabilitation Act, "on its face, is open to a broad and all-inclusive interpretation," Judge Gesell wrote, acknowledging that the handicapped individuals protected by Section 504 are defined as "any person" with a substantially limiting mental or physical impairment. But with a chilling ambivalence, Gesell states that (emphasis added) "*some* infants born with physical and mental defects *may* well fit within that broad definition" of "person." A "mildly handicapped child whose parents *want him* to benefit from those services" might indeed be a person, but the judge refuses even to commit himself to this much.

Since when does the degree of handicap and the beneficence of his or her guardians affect a newborn child's status as a person, protected by the Constitution and Section 504? Historians of ethics may point to 1973. That year, as Congress affirmed the rights and humanity of its disabled citizens with the Rehabilitation Act, the country's most respected medical journal, the *New England Journal of Medicine*, lent legitimacy to an opposite affirmation, in the article "Moral and Ethical Dilemmas in the Special-Care Nursery."

The article described "death as a management option" for newborns with such conditions as Down's syndrome or spina bifida. Although neither of these necessarily produces serious physical disability or even certain mental retardation, the authors, Dr. Raymond S. Duff and A. G. M. Campbell, urged that physicians, through parents, be freely allowed the formerly unthinkable "option" of allowing their disabled neonatal patients to die. "If working out these dilemmas in ways such as those we suggest is in violation of the law," they wrote, "we believe the law should be changed."

Imprecise Diagnoses

But such law, on the federal level anyway, was barely a month old when the article ran. The Rehabilitation Act was the product of more than a century of Western humanitarian idealism, enlightened institutional reform, and recent civil-rights consciousness; it was a rather sudden shift for intellectual leaders to be repudiating an achievement so suddenly. But they were, and the medical profession was quick to follow. By 1975 a national poll of pediatric surgeons (*Pediatrics*, October 2, 1977) showed that 77 per cent favored the Infant Doe option for infants with Down's syndrome.

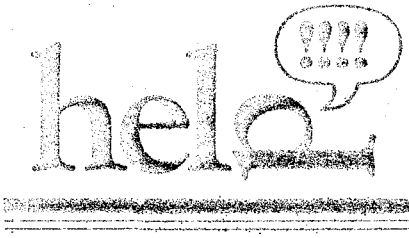
One of the co-authors of the 1973 article, Dr. Duff, professor of Pediatrics at Yale University, runs the pediatrics ward of the Yale-New Haven Medical Center just across town from the late elder Gesell's Institute of Child Development.

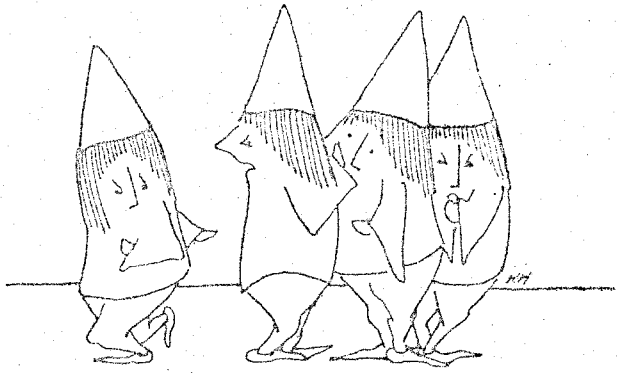
And he practices what he preaches. A

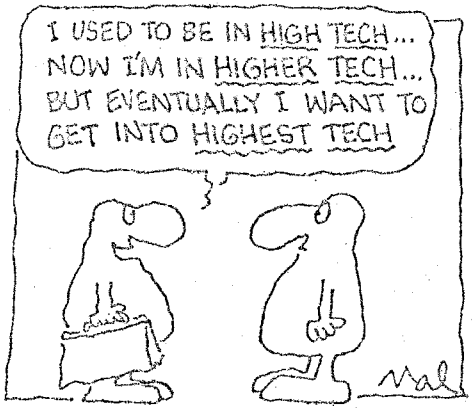
(Continues on page 1092)

Steven Baer is director of education for Americans United for Life, Inc., in Chicago, the legal arm of the national pro-life movement. AUL acted as counsel in the appeal of the original Infant Doe ruling.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED





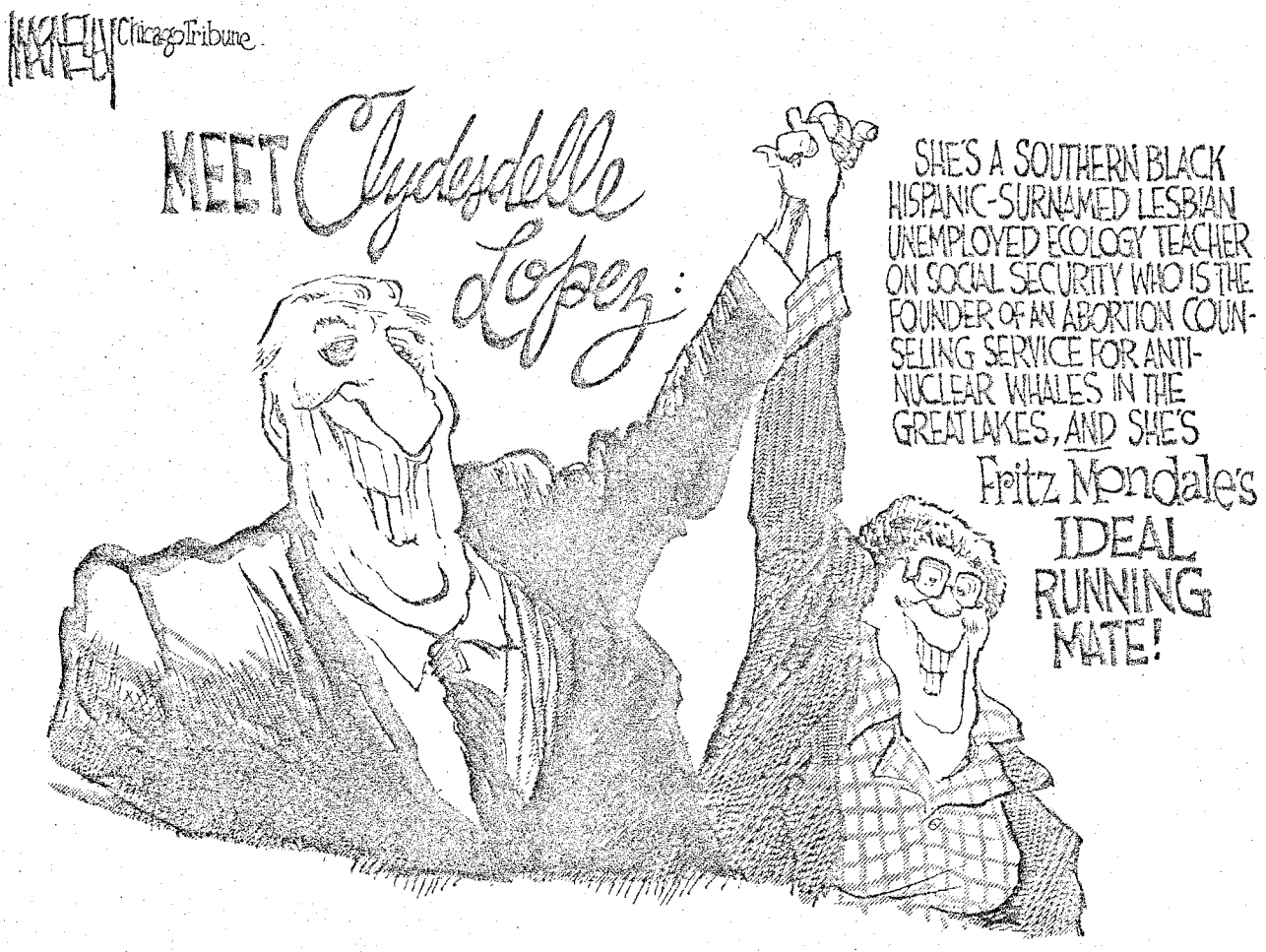


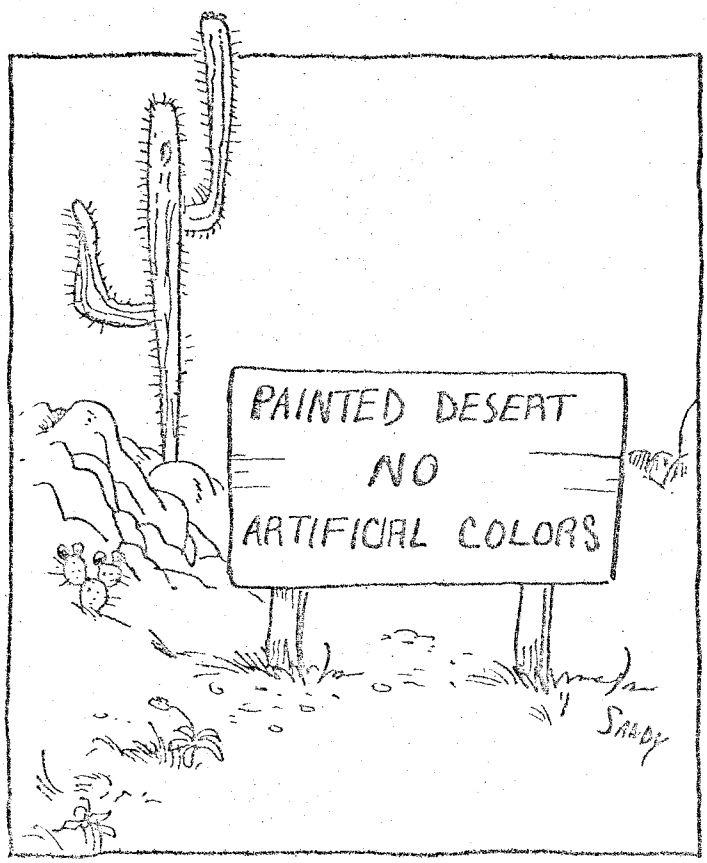
"Inflation's down; the market's up; deterrence continues to work; Social Security is solvent; gas is available; national parks are open—1984 is getting closer—leak the briefing book!"

©1983 BROOKINS
RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH
FIELD NEWSPAPER SYNDICATE
GREENPEACE VS. SOVIET GOV'T. OVER WHALING
FOLLOWING PROTESTS, U.S. DEFENSE DEPT. HALTS ANIMAL-HOUNDING EXPERIMENTS

"IF WE WERE TO SPREAD THE WORD THAT THE SOVIETS WERE POISONING AFGHAN HOUNDS INSTEAD OF AFGHAN VILLAGES, I'LL BET THE WORLD WOULD PAY MORE ATTENTION!..."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED


Chicago Tribune
MEET Clydesdelle Lopez:
SHE'S A SOUTHERN BLACK HISPANIC-SURNAMED LESBIAN UNEMPLOYED ECOLOGY TEACHER ON SOCIAL SECURITY WHO IS THE FOUNDER OF AN ABORTION COUNSELING SERVICE FOR ANTI-NUCLEAR WHALES IN THE GREAT LAKES, AND SHE'S
Fritz Mondale's IDEAL RUNNING MATE!



Deposit $20, Please

Blindfolded Justice and her scales
  Accused AT&T
Of operating all those years
  Like a monopoly.
Now, as Ma Bell is broken up,
  Her progeny impose
A rise in rates all callers will
  Be paying, through the nose.

W. H. von Dreele

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTER FROM THE VATICAN

Who Was Minding the Store?

FARLEY CLINTON

JOHN PAUL II was "furious" when he learned that while he was in Poland earlier this summer, a number of officials at the Vatican sought to undercut his position by publicly raising the question whether the Pope should concern himself with Polish politics. Don Virgilio Levi went so far as to print an editorial in *L'Osservatore Romano* that seemed to say: Never mind what the Pope said, the real Catholic position is that the Polish government is right and Lech Walesa must retire forthwith and absolutely from public life in Poland.

There were two contrasting views of Don Levi's curious behavior. One appeared in all the Italian newspapers, except the greatest and most respected, *Corriere della Sera*. This version stressed Don Levi's unusual role on the paper and in the Vatican generally, constantly incurring rebukes for advocating a liberal line plainly out of step with Vatican thinking, openly dividing the staff of the Vatican daily until it had become widely noted that *L'Osservatore* had become an armed camp, with the editor, Valerio Volpini, heading one faction, and Levi the other. A number of journals mentioned the long duration of this crisis, and the naming of Monsignor Stickler, prefect of the Vatican Library, to conduct an inquiry into the scandalous feud between the editors. "His judgments," so we read, "were of extreme severity." It was generally believed that both editors were certain to be dismissed in the near future. Levi, however, was the first to go, fired within the week of publishing his editorial on the Pope's visit to Poland.

Another point frequently mentioned, in order to convey just who and what Virgilio Levi was, and hence what has really been going on, is his great friendship with Cardinal Casaroli, the Vatican Secretary of State, who had insisted on keeping Levi where he was despite growing protests about Levi's liberalism and his wish to run everything.

Not only the Italian papers but even the London *Times* thought a salient aspect of the situation was Levi's well-known alliance, or full sympathy of views, with Casaroli, and with Roberto Tucci, a priest who somehow remains at the head of Vatican Radio although his opinions seem to be antithetical to the Pope's.

Certainly a great number of Levi's professional colleagues have refused to believe—and have made this quite clear—that anything about the "Farewell to Walesa" article was accidental. It is, of course, very strange that Levi should give perhaps the greatest pain he could to the Pope, to Lech Walesa and his wife, and to his (lately acquired) friends, the bishops of Poland, who are said to have been even angrier than the Pope, although John Paul was described as "furious."

People ask themselves who might possibly think that developments in Poland, especially the sort of developments unleashed by the Pope's warm and reiterated endorsements of Solidarity, were of truly earth-shaking importance. Alas, Poland has suffered much from having few allies, from being quite isolated from her cultural and religious allies, and most capitals are sadly indifferent to the fate of Poland—except Moscow. It is difficult to see who, outside Moscow, would feel that it was desperately important, at any risk, to say what Levi said. What all the papers (except *Corriere*) seem to hint—offering it as mere speculation, of course, with nothing to support the assertion—is that it was purely spite and egotism and a determination, if he must leave, to make his going as painful for others as for himself, that inspired Don Levi to coldly and deliberately engineer this uproar.

Yes, it does seem strange, in a milieu in which political considerations are of such preoccupying importance to everyone, and in which it is most natural to find double agents of one sort or another, that a most extraordinary propaganda victory for the Communists, seriously weakening the papal prestige, and disorienting all the plans under way for the strengthening of Poland, was gained through pure happenstance, on account of a selfish individual who gave no thought to the political consequences of his act. And, yes, it does seem ungrateful of him to have embarrassed Cardinal Casaroli, who was always his friend, and known to be his friend.

Cardinal Casaroli naturally, like other men, has enemies. But they have in fact never dwelt so much on their suspicions that he is favorable to Communism as upon the many accusations that he is a Freemason. In ordinary times, or at least in Paul VI's times, absolutely no harm could be done to anyone by a charge that would really seem too ludicrous to discuss. But by bad luck it has recently been discovered that there really was a Masonic lodge that exercised great financial and political power in Italy, even in the last few years, and which is admitted by the most sober observers to have been deeply involved in disturbing, even sinister, perhaps criminal, conspiratorial activities.

INDEED, as was fully reported in the *New York Times* within the last two months, the damaging evidence unearthed in those investigations has had grave consequences even for the august and untouchable *Corriere della Sera* of Milan. It has been established that the owners of the paper are all members of the Masonic lodge, and a whole series of implausible—but apparently undeniable—scandals connected with their doings has considerably reduced the circulation of the paper.

Nonetheless *Corriere* is, and it remains, "authoritative." Its views are humbly adopted as a matter of course by most of the world's press, especially on questions that relate directly to Italy, on which the paper is assumed to be supremely well-informed.

In the present case, also, this has proved true. The particular view of the Levi affair adopted in *Corriere* seems to have been adopted generally by the most responsible papers in all nations, and notably by the *New York Times*.

It is undeniably true that the stories about Virgilio Levi in *Corriere* are longer than those in *Stampa Sera*, *La Republica*, *L'Unita*, *Nazione*, *Messaggero*,

(Continues on page 1092)

Mr. Clinton is a freelance writer based in New York who writes frequently on Roman Catholic affairs.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NIKA HAZELTON

Electra in the Kitchen

C. H. SIMONDS

THE APARTMENT is somehow European: high-ceilinged, furnished sparsely, wall after wall of books; above all, drenched in light. Occupant clearly does not much believe in curtains. Beyond the high windows is a bit of green, the western fringe of Manhattan; then the Hudson River and the ramparts of New Jersey.

Going past the kitchen, one of course peeks in. But where are the dazzling ranks of copper pans, the terra-cotta roasters in quaint shapes, the infinite cutlery (this for filleting a minnow, that for beheading a woolly mammoth)? This is a working kitchen, please go and enjoy your drink in the living room. Elsewhere, there's no nonsense either, none of the frippery beloved of magazine photographers—not so much as a Marimekko-design floor cushion for the visitor.

Felled by back trouble, Mrs. Hazelton receives in her bedroom, movie-queenishly reclining, yet managing an elegance. Her eyes belong in pictures: wide, dark, humorous, and undeceived, set in a square, practical face. It is easy to picture her debarking in New York in the mid-1930s, Miss Dittmann then, fresh from a European upbringing (mother Italian, father a German diplomat, raised in Switzerland and educated in England), come to work as a researcher for Henry Luce's *Fortune*.

"The lines were clearly drawn in those days," she recalls, without rancor: "Men were the writers, and women were the researchers."

Then, in *Fortune*'s heyday, the men were such as James Agee, Dwight Macdonald, and John Chamberlain. Once she accompanied Chamberlain to Chicago, at that time in the grasp of the baroquely corrupt Kelly-Nash machine; during the interview, she inquired ever so politely of Mayor Kelly, as if asking Bluebeard about the health of his charming new wife, "Where did you get all of your money?"

"Mumble-mumble-mumble real-estate investments mumble-mumble."

Was he aware of talk about improprieties in the awarding and completion of municipal construction contracts?

"Mumble?"

Why was it that the foundation of the brand-new such-and-such stadium was already cracking?

"Cracking?"

Yes, cracking. She had stuck her fingers right into one of the cracks.

"You had to make *sure*," she explains.

She remembers her seven years at *Fortune* fondly: "If you got nowhere with a writer or editor, you could always go and talk with Mr. Luce." (One wonders if all the bright young researcherettes felt the same easiness about buttonholing the boss.)

From *Fortune*, Mrs. Hazelton went to Brazil "with an English husband I had at the time" (whose name she keeps as her middle one "purely," she once confessed, "to annoy him"). Back in this country after the war, she worked in advertising, first for Gimbels, then Macy's, and, later on, in agencies, "because the hours were better and I had two children to take care of."

A Special Couple

Lunch arrives, accompanied by French bread, wine, and three classy cheeses, brought by Harold, whom she met at one of the agencies and who "wowed me over apple pie and coffee at Schrafft's."

They wed in—"Harold," she calls unsentimentally, "do you remember when we were married?"—1955. Hazelton, now a retired genealogist and always perhaps the gentlest, best-humored man on earth, undertook the upbringing of Nika's sons; they have, she says succinctly, "turned out well." Julian is a lawyer on the California Attorney General's staff; Anthony restores and races Porsches in London.

The Hazeltons are one of those special couples: they mesh. They are as settled in mutual affection as Darby and Joan, but never short of wisecracks. To dine there is to laugh; questions and compliments about the superb food are received pleasantly by the hostess, but "tell them, Harold, about the concierge who thought we were living in sin."

A Writer Who Cooks

Mrs. Hazelton began writing regularly in 1960, first for *Woman's Day*; the string has grown to include *Family Circle*, *House and Garden*, *Town and Country*, *The New Yorker*, *Food and Wine*, and, since 1965, *NR*. To date, she has produced 23 cookbooks, a book on wine, a 12-volume encyclopedia on cooking, several translations, and one million magazine articles.

"I'm not unusually talented or dedicated," she explains, "but I'm certainly industrious. I once described myself as a literate housewife, and that's what I still am."

Let's get a rise out of her: But what of the larger significance of cooking?

"Are you mad?"

Given her prodigious output, evident skill, and wide knowledge in the field, one wonders why the name Hazelton isn't quite the household word that Child or Beard is.

Her analysis is gnomic: "They are cooks who write; I'm a writer who cooks." Elsewhere in the conversation she perhaps comes closer: "I once took an aptitude test and learned that I have absolutely no competitive spirit. I am not ambitious."

This is the fifth in a series of profiles of NR *editors and columnists by Mr. Simonds, formerly an associate editor of* NR, *now a teacher.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Certainly, she lacks the instinct, or the disposition, for self-promotion. The idea of presiding over a cooking school appalls her; she tried doing demonstrations once or twice, and loathed it. Television? "The only things I would care to be on TV are the old granny in *Tobacco Road*, or a monster in a Fellini movie."

And perhaps the lady occupies the niche she does (perfectly comfortably) because of her matter-of-fact approach to gastronomy and such. Her prose is straightforward and workmanlike; she seldom engages in verbal acrobatics, and never in precious rubbish of the "just-a-suspicion-of-coriander" variety. She could make a fortune taking contracts for the evisceration (verbal) of wine snobs, *nouvelle cuisine* fanatics, granola fascists, and such household pests. In the kitchen, at the table, at the typewriter, her eyes are open and on the ball, never shut in exquisite ecstasy. Dining out with friends, she is business-like. Everyone samples everything, comparisons are made, but endless yakking about food never dulls the evening.

Writing about food, she says, has been "steady work." She might have added, and hard: each recipe is tested, at least once, in her kitchen, and would be even if handed her by Yahweh on stone tablets. She would never add that much of her work over the past decade or so has been done despite the distraction of considerable pain: She has endured five serious hip and back operations; she twice had to learn how to walk all over again. The body, she seems to feel, although always to be fed well, is largely an inconvenience; what is important is to do well what one does, and to check every crack. "I take pride in my writing, and I am honest in my work: My recipes *do* come out."

She shifts impatiently on the bed. She would much rather be—in the kitchen? No, at the airport, off for anywhere. "Actually, wine is more interesting than food, and traveling is more interesting than either." She chuckles, savoring the heresy. "I think it would be lovely to be rich enough to have one suitcase of clothes and live off room service."

Travel must be deferred for now, what with walking so difficult—but the work goes on. An anthology of *Family Circle* recipes is just out; a big book on pasta is completed and set for publication early next year. Now, she contemplates mischief: "I've led an interesting life, so people tell me; they say I should write my memoirs." She settles back. "I'd like to call it *Electra in the Kitchen* . . ." □

We Kid You Not

THE CITY of Berkeley, just across the Golden Gate from San Francisco, contains not only the principal campus of the University of California and the world's largest collection of Nobel Laureates, but also the Hocus Pocus School of Psychic Studies.

At the Hocus Pocus School one can pursue studies in psychic awareness, healing, clairvoyancy, plant healing, dream exploration, body psychometry, kundalini, magick, self image, past-life recall, color therapy, creative energy, yoga, ritual movement, archetype meditation and—says an advertisement in "Open Education Exchange," a publication of the Community Resources Institute of Berkeley—psychic belly-dancing.

In spite of these attractions, the Hocus Pocus School is not overwhelmed by applicants. It faces stiff competition for students. Among its rivals, apart from the university itself and other mainstream institutions of higher learning, is the House of Intuitive Science. There Anand ("Song of Bliss") Gitam uses Breema-Shiatsu energy-balancing and other techniques so as to blend psychic counseling with nurturing bodywork.

Also contending for enrollees are the Dolphin Holistic Center, where participants can tune in, the sponsors promise, to deeper layers of their being, unlocking patterns that keep them from manifesting what they want; the Center for Zen Sensualism that, by way of a synthesis of Hinduism, Taoism, yoga, tantra, and Buddhism, uses sensual/sexual activities in techniques of erotic meditation to unite spirituality and sensuality; and the Healing Ourselves Center, which offers Reichian-based healing and enneagrams of personality.

One of the area's many ecology centers is the venue for positive awareness classes, which serve, the sponsors claim, to increase one's yes power.

Vispassana meditation and inner tuning, or the sound vibration of the chakras, are specialties at the California Institute of Integral Studies.

At the Laughing Man Institute, principles of true healing and of conscious dying, as first propounded by spiritual adept Da Free John, are expounded by Sun Bear, a Chippewa medicine man, as well as by Frans Bakker, of the Radiant Life Clinic and Research Center.

ELEANOR BLANK, a solo practitioner, teaches use of quartz crystals to attain inner peace, to cleanse auras, to energize and balance chakras, and to release karmic blocks.

John Massari holds seminars wherein he serves as medium for the disembodied personality, Seth, while over at Divine Connections, Louise Caraco offers help in aligning the actualization of one's vision.

Jerry Lipkin runs the Frog Prince Conspiracy, waggishly exhorting prospects to "Go for croak! Join Toaday!" The Conspiracy offers single people access to what is billed as a synergy circle.

Persons who experience difficulties in dealing with members of the opposite sex also may turn to Pacific Rim Counseling Associates, whose tutors offer weekends of Gender Empathy Training.

—JOHN D. MAY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Islam: Another Wave Length

From the Continent

ERIK v. KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN

It was, oddly enough, in the United States that I became aware of how acute the differences were between the Islamic world and the West. The occasion was a lecture I gave on the question of whether a genuine dialogue could take place between theists and atheists. Immediately after my lecture, the audience, composed of Christians, Jews, and one Moslem, continued to discuss the subject. At the end of the session, I expressed my gratitude to the Moslem, a leading Islamic scholar, and referred to the Jewish and Christian roots of his religion. He was outraged and asked how I would react to a claim that Christianity had Jewish roots. Every Jew and Christian in the room freely admitted that this was indeed the case, much to the poor man's surprise and dismay. Of course, very few of us in the room would have been able to talk knowledgeably about Islam.

It would be a serious mistake to assume that Islam and its culture and civilization can be explained "racially" as a purely Semitic phenomenon. There are Aryan Moslems like the Iranians, Afghans, and Pakistanis; Ural-Altaic Moslems like the Tartars; Hamitic Moslems like the Berbers; and Slavic Moslems like the Bosnians. Religion—not chromosomes—answers the questions as to the wherefrom, the why, and the whereto.

Islam is a religion of law, not of love. While the concept of love for one's fellow man does figure in the *hadith* (the oral tradition), only once is love mentioned in the Koran: when we read that Allah loves his people and the people love Allah. But nowhere does the Koran mention love for one's neighbor. It is true that love for one's fellow man is a part of the teachings of Sufism, but the Christian influence on Sufism is obvious, for which some of the leading Sufis have had to pay with their lives.

A limited liberalism toward Christians and Jews existed in the old Islamic monarchies—those of Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Egypt—because the monarchies were able to combine the Islamic religion with a culture oriented toward the West. With the fall of these monarchies, the fate of the minorities rapidly worsened—as witness the Greeks in Turkey, the Copts in Egypt, and the Jews everywhere in Islam with the exception of Morocco.

Among American blacks the legend that the Islamic nations were always color-blind while the Christian nations were racist is still current. But racism in Christianity, as Arnold Toynbee and Frank Tannenbaum have pointed out, appeared only with the Reformation. (The real scourge of black Africa was the Arab slave hunter.) Primitive methods of castrating the Africans destined for harems caused innumerable deaths. When United Nations troops were sent to the Congo in the 1960s, the Islamic contingents provoked fear and revulsion among the Africans.

Nor is it true that Jews were always persecuted in Christian countries but enjoyed untrammeled liberties in the Moslem world. At different times Jews were expelled from certain Christian regions and invited to settle in others—but the same is true of the Arab world. In the twelfth century, Maimonides, perhaps the greatest Jewish philosopher, had to flee Islamic Spain and settled in Egypt. Today, more Jews live in Germany than in the entire Arab world between Algeria and Iran. Of course, any Jew thinking of immigrating to an Arab country has many reasons to ponder the wisdom of that step, not all of them spelled PLO. There is the example of what is happening to the followers of the Bahai sect in Iran. Bahai, which originated in Iran during the last century and whose members read both the Koran and the Bible, has spread to Europe and the United States, but it still isn't welcome in Iran, where members of the sect are tortured and executed if they don't return to the Moslem faith.

Obviously, followers of Islam live on a vastly different wave length from their counterparts in the West. They feel and reason differently from Westerners. There is *wajh*, which might be translated as "face"; there is a vivid imagination that easily supersedes reality and leads to a formal lying that is somehow not meant to be lying; there is the curious duality (observed by Raphael Patai) between public and private personality, leading to a grave inner imbalance; and finally there is the overwhelming consciousness of a glorious past. Undoubtedly, Islamic culture and civilization were vastly superior to ours—until the Renaissance in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. The reason for the subsequent Islamic stagnation in nearly all fields of human endeavor can be attributed to one grave mistake: the exclusion of one half of humanity: womankind. Whatever the reason, the Islamic world resolutely continues on its own path, despite the countless Western efforts to move it in other directions.

Pakistan, free of the British colonial yoke, has reverted to amputating the hands of criminals—under medical supervision. Iran, safely out of the grasp of a ruler who tried to Westernize the country, once more stones adulterers. And now we hear of a *fetwa*, pronounced by the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem. The Grand Mufti has promised the eternal reward to the killer of Syrian President Hafez Assad, "a stooge of the United States." Assad's crime? He is responsible for the mass-murder of thousands of Orthodox Sunni Moslems in northern Syria, but it wasn't this grisly deed that provoked the Grand Mufti. No, it's Assad's opposition to Yasir Arafat that has earned him the enmity of the Grand Mufti. But how Assad, who gets his military arsenal from the Kremlin, can be termed an American stooge is something the Grand Mufti didn't bother to explain.

At one time, Islam and the West could each have solved its own problems, independent of the influence of the other, but late twentieth-century politics (and technology) have forced these two different worlds into a confrontation. The question that remains to be answered is whether a genuine dialogue can take place between these different worlds. The question is made infinitely more interesting (and topical) by the existence of Israel, a Western outpost surrounded by Islam. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A New World Council?

Tomorrow and Tomorrow

MICHAEL NOVAK

MEETING IN Vancouver late in July, the World Council of Churches has at last been coming under pressure to clarify two important principles. 1) To what extent are the Christian churches committed to God and to eternity, as well as to the concerns of this world? 2) On the questions of this world, can the Christian churches assume a point of view that truly transcends East and West, socialism and democratic capitalism?

As I write, the meeting in Vancouver has not concluded; the evidence is not in. Still, even the early signs suggest that the WCC will in the near future turn a little more of its attention to the "vertical" question of the human relation to God, and a little less to the "horizontal" questions of this world. Since, in today's world, no one but religious leaders can speak to the "vertical" question; since, demonstrably, so many human beings hunger and thirst for guidance upon it; and since, finally, the resolution of the "horizontal" questions depends upon an accurate rendering of the "vertical," such a turn is much to be desired.

Some on the Left fear that attention to the "vertical" detracts from the "horizontal," and is therefore a ruse of conservatives and reactionaries. This is a profound error. For the strength of the Christian Left itself is either grounded in the "vertical," or it is not. If not, it is ideology like every other. If it is, then clarification of the power of the "vertical" cannot truly injure the Left.

Thus, it is the second principle that most needs illumination. No one denies that the WCC has fallen into the hands of those, mostly, whose political-economic predilections place them on the left. No fair-minded person can accuse the WCC of being led by rightists or even centrists.

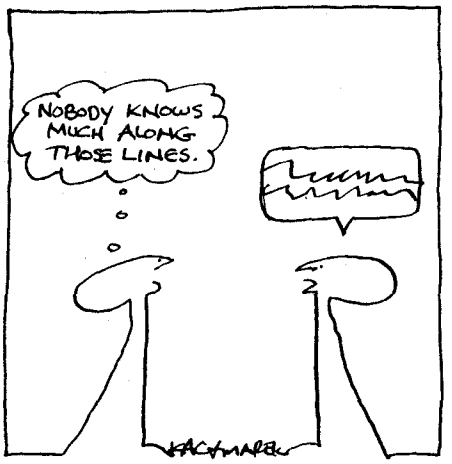
The claim of critics of the WCC is not that its leaders ought to be silent about this world; nor that they should cease caring for the more than two million refugees they now nobly care for; nor that they should speak as political eunuchs, in a falsely vertical voice.

Not at all. The claim of critics of the WCC has three simple parts. The first is that the political-economic deeds of the WCC ought to be more detached than they are, more truly transcendental, even while not losing concrete effectiveness. It should not be so easy, as it now is, to confuse the voice of the WCC with the standard propaganda of the socialist Third World, of which one hears quite enough in the lies and fevers of the United Nations. If the WCC can do no better than the UN, what is its point?

The second is that the statements and deeds of the WCC ought to reflect the true diversity of the world's Christians. Some Christians are, and some no doubt should be, on the left. Not all are. Why can't the WCC in its leaders, staff, and publications represent this genuine and necessary diversity?

The third is that the political-economic activities of the WCC should be more open and held more clearly accountable to all Christians. Matters of political economy are inherently divisive. Persons of good will are bound to reach diverse practical judgments. Mutual trust depends upon the maximum possible openness of discussion.

Consider the question of religious liberty. Why do we say that every human person has inestimable value, dignity, and autonomy? Why do we say that governments ought to be based on "the consent of the governed"? Why do we say that individuals possess inalienable rights? The underlying reason for each of these assertions is human conscience.



Human beings, like their Creator, are originating sources of insight, judgment, and choice. This is the root of every other human right that they possess. In defending liberty of conscience, this root of all other rights is what we are defending.

Why, then, has the WCC been so slow to defend religious liberty? The answer is easy to discern and is not flattering. The regimes of the East, and some in the Third World, prefer to talk about the rights of states, the rights of classes, and every other right except those rooted in the conscience of every single human person. To defend liberty of conscience might appear to some, in this context, to be siding with the West.

THE WEST is not wrong in everything. Commitment to transcendence itself demands that, in this respect at least, the WCC stand on principle, even if—horror of horrors!—such a stand links it to the profoundest convictions of the West. Western Christians are Christians, too.

The leadership of the WCC sometimes seems frightened to death to utter any word that would seem to offend the enemies of the West. This is a false sense of "transcendence." Neglect of religious liberty cuts the very heart out of any sense of transcendence whatever.

Finally, this fake neutrality is an enormous scandal. Millions of Christians are rotting in jails throughout the East and the Third World, refusing to compromise Christian faith with Mammon. The poems of Armando Valladares from Cuban prisons express this fidelity so movingly they cause tears. The Jews of the world fight brilliantly and unrelentingly for Jews suffering under Soviet persecution. The WCC does not fight similarly for the vastly more numerous Christians who suffer there.

Most of the 160 nations of the world suffer under tyranny. It is not so difficult to attack tyranny and abuse of rights wherever they appear. It is much easier, indeed, for church groups than for nation states to do so. The WCC, seeming partisan, is false to itself. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"... nothing else quite like it on the American scene."

—Irving Kristol

THE
AMERICAN SPECTATOR
Luigi Barzini: Buckley the Mariner
Mitchell S. Ross: John Updike, Middle American
John Samuels: Afghanistan and the Coolheads

The White House gets it . . . so do members of the Cabinet and Congress . . . and you should too, that is . . .

. . . if you'd love to give a hot foot to the likes of General Jaruzelski . . . the entire Politburo . . . Betty Friedan, Ralph Nader, and Billy Graham . . . Tip O'Neill and Howard Baker . . . and every posturing, pompous, Third-World diplomat . . . and then watch what happens.

. . . if you want the very best writing of such luminaries as Tom Wolfe, Malcolm Muggeridge, Ben J. Wattenberg, Ernest van den Haag, Tom Bethell, George Will, Hugh Kenner, Michael Novak, Taki, Walter E. Williams, and the **Spectator**'s founder and editor-in-chief, syndicated columnist R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr.

. . . if you're interested in knowing the gut, history-changing issues of the day months in advance of their making the national press and network news.

For example, long before the P.R. firm of Reagan, Regan, Kemp, Roth and Stockman stuck the electorate's toe in the hot socket of Supply-Side Economics, the scheme's big daddy, George Gilder, was discussing it in depth in the pages of **The American Spectator.** Long before "Yellow Rain" in Afghanistan and Cambodia hit the front pages and editorial columns, **Spectator** readers were experts on the subject. The liveliest, nastiest debate on Nixon, Kissinger, and the destruction of Cambodia took place in these pages between William Shawcross and Henry Kissinger's chief researcher. And Margaret Thatcher's high male-hormone count was openly discussed long before the Falklands crisis.

In short, **The American Spectator** is where the action is! And you're invited to get in on it and savor it!

What they say:

The Washington Post: ". . . Washington's new 'in' magazine."

Time Magazine: ". . . a (monthly) 40-page compendium of essays, satires, diatribes as well as acid-etched reviews of books, movies, and saloons (recent recommendation: Delisa's Bungalow Beer Garden in South St. Louis). The **Spectator**'s list of contributors reads like a Who's Who of the American Right and Center. Among them are Buckley, **Public Interest** co-editor Irving Kristol, Harvard Government Professor James Q. Wilson, Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan and social theorist Sidney Hook."

Send today for a Low-Cost No-Risk Trial!

THE AMERICAN SPECTATOR
P.O. Box 1969, Bloomington, IN 47402

Open my trial subscription to **The American Spectator** (eight giant, tabloid-sized issues) conveniently delivered right to me.

☐ Check for $11.95 enclosed. In return for my prepayment send me two additional issues (10 for the price of 8). Full refund is guaranteed if I don't like the first issue.

☐ Bill me later for $11.95 (sorry, no additional issues; only 8). If I don't like my first issue, I'll write "cancel" across the invoice, return it to you, and owe nothing.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Canadian and foreign subscribers, please add $4 for postage.

3NKA

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Prophets without Portfolio

The Constitution, the Courts and Human Rights
By Michael J. Perry
Yale, 253 pp., $24

GROVER REES III

In a recent and important essay in these pages, Judge Robert Bork observed that most of the people who teach constitutional law at America's most prestigious law schools can be characterized as "noninterpretivists." Some readers must have been surprised to learn that there can even be a noninterpretive theory of constitutional interpretation. Others, unable to be shocked at anything that happens in a university, must yet have wondered how noninterpretivism came to be the dominant school of constitutional jurisprudence. An idea whose very name resonates with irony seems susceptible of easy refutation.

Arguing against the noninterpretation of the Constitution, however, is like trying to refute a pudding. To begin with, few constitutional scholars *admit* to being noninterpretivists. Rather, they defend their favorite Supreme Court decisions (the most widely debated is *Roe* v. *Wade*, in which the Court discovered a right to abortion; but racial-balance busing, the demise of school prayer, and some of the newer and shinier rights of criminal defendants receive honorable mention) by reference to expansive and arcane definitions of the words "interpret" and "Constitution." Laws passed by elected legislatures can be nullified by life-tenured justices because they are said to be imposing not their own values but those constitutionalized by the Founders. Yet the justices are not bound by what the Founders thought they were constitutionalizing, since the law must change with the times.

It would seem to follow that a judicial decision that contravenes *both* the original understanding *and* the views of today's majority about what the times require should be regarded as illegitimate, unless judges have the authority to impose their own values as supreme law. Even when confronted with such a case, however, the typical noninterpretivist refuses to come out of the closet: Rejecting "rigid" notions about the meanings of words and the uses of evidence, he sees even the most antimajoritarian *and* antihistorical decisions as "rooted" in the values of the Founders and/or the polity, albeit in complex ways that only intelligent and sensitive people can understand.

Michael Perry is different, and better. He is a noninterpretivist who calls his belief by its right name, freely admitting that the modern Court's most important decisions cannot plausibly be defended as interpretations of the Constitution. Yet he wishes to be governed by these decisions and to govern other people by them. Accordingly, he takes seriously a responsibility to defend noninterpretive judicial review in some other way than by ritual invocation of the very Constitution the judges have so badly distorted.

Professor Perry's attempt to reconcile the fact of government by judiciary with the idea of government by consent proceeds from two major arguments. He begins with an eloquent rejection of the twentieth-century dogma that there are no objectively correct answers to moral questions. Perry argues that most Americans believe there *are* right answers, and that a determination to search for them (and to search together as a society) is a distinctive feature of the American character. Judges should, therefore, strike down laws when they believe the laws deny fundamental human rights. In so doing they will be acting occasionally as proxies for those who ratified the Constitution, but more often as "prophets" selected by an "American Israel" that recognizes "that justice cannot be reduced to the sum of the preferences of the collectivity."

Even prophets, however, are human and sometimes make mistakes. Professor Perry's solution to this problem is to suggest that judicial prophecy replaces the will of the majority as supreme law *only so long as the majority is content to stand corrected.* For Supreme Court decisions can be reversed, and not only by such unwieldy and un-

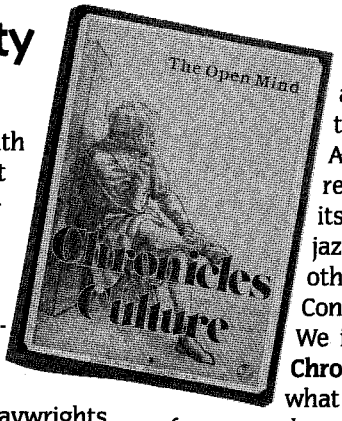
Forrest McDonald *is professor of American History at the University of Alabama. . . .* **Joe Mysak** *is a member of the editorial staff of* The Bondbuyer *in New York City. . . .* **Grover Rees III** *is assistant professor of law at the University of Texas.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AT LAST, A JOURNAL OF OPINION THAT'S DECIDEDLY NON-LIBERAL

"IT HAS BEEN A PLEASURE TO WATCH LEOPOLD TYRMAND AND THE **CHRONICLES OF CULTURE** CONFRONT—A LA ORWELL—THE SMELLY LITTLE ORTHODOXIES OF OUR TIME."—**TOM WOLFE**

Here's your opportunity to read a copy—free!



Imagine! A journal of opinion that begins with that fresh perspective, and then goes about the business of reviewing, criticizing, essaying each month—in little danger of fraternizing with other magazines.

In each issue of **Chronicles**, we invite our readers **to think along with us** as we puncture the pompous ideas—and old-idea repeaters—of our time.

Everywhere one turns, liberal writers, playwrights, reviewers, editors and such are gushing over the most mediocre of themes—and each other.

Flaming liberals, doused monthly.

Alas, liberalism's leading product is the gaseous re-oxygenation of old, trite, tried-and-compromised ideas.

To stand aside virtually guarantees that the most noxious of dull material will be revived by an adoring Liberal Media Establishment.

Thus, our mission is clear. Every month, we shall drench these disseminators of fiery nonsense with unrelenting observations and critique.

Too many "hurrahs" for average performances.

In an era when the standing ovation is frequently offered for the most desultory performances—on stage, on film or on paper—we feel bound to cast a somewhat more critical eye than the mass media critics.

The Liberal Follies, exposed.

Another theme that delights our readers in every issue:

Our examination of what passes today for **Liberal Culture**.

We lace each issue of **Chronicles** with vignettes culled from the self-important follies-creators of our time. And our editors take some satisfaction in commenting on the absurdities and ironies of liberal attitudes.

At last, there exists a magazine **worth** reading for its originality, its zest, its willingness to examine books, film, jazz, theater, politics, the press and other institutions with no concern for Consensus or Conventional Wisdom.

We invite you to read the next issue of **Chronicles of Culture** free. If you like what you read, we welcome you as one of our regular subscribers. But you deserve a free sampling before your final decision.

Simply forward the enclosed Subscription Request and Free Issue Offer coupon. But do it today, so we may send you our freshest issue immediately.

If you are **decidedly non-liberal** in outlook, we believe you will find what we have to say—and how we have to say it in the pages of **Chronicles of Culture**—exactly what you have been looking for!

Chronicles of Culture
934 North Main Street • Rockford, Illinois 61103

I wish to judge **Chronicles of Culture** for myself. Enroll me as a potential subscriber and send me your current issue free.

☐ Bill me for $18.00 (12 monthly issues). If I'm not satisfied with my first issue I'll write "cancel" on the invoice and return it unpaid. No further obligation on my part.

☐ Check for $18.00 is enclosed. Please start my subscription now.

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

CITY_____ STATE_____ ZIP_____

Chronicles of Culture T8324
NON-LIBERAL CRITICISM AT ITS BEST.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

likely methods as constitutional amendment, impeachment, and waiting around for a few justices to die. The Constitution gives Congress the power, by the simple majority votes required for ordinary legislation, to make exceptions to the jurisdiction of the federal courts. Efforts by conservatives to except all cases dealing with certain subjects, such as abortion and school prayer, have been denounced by many law professors as unconstitutional abridgments of the "essential role" of the federal judiciary. Professor Perry, however, contends that this is a permissible way for the majority to reimpose its own values over against values that have been imposed by noninterpretive judicial opinions.

For Perry, the congressional power to withdraw jurisdiction transforms noninterpretive judicial review into one side of a dialogue about human rights. It is a dialogue in which the majority will have the last word, but by which the courts can force the majority to give sober second thought to important questions on which passions might have run too high. Quoting Professor Charles Black, he suggests to those who object to the substance of one or more Supreme Court decisions:

> You are wrong in imagining an arrogation of power by the courts. Look, it says in the United States Code that the federal courts are to take these cases and decide them according to law as those courts see the law. . . . If you think this congressional empowerment of the federal judiciary to be very unwise, then go to Congress and try to get them to change it. If Congress [refuses], stop talking about usurpation, . . . because the national democracy, through its only voice, will have decided against you.

As an exercise in political theory—as a defense of the proposition that a society *might* use its judges as Mosaic law-givers without sacrificing the principle of government by consent—Perry's argument works admirably. As a justification for noninterpretive judicial review as it is practiced in our society, I believe it fails.

First, it is utterly unrealistic to infer popular acquiescence in controversial Supreme Court decisions from Congress's failure to withdraw jurisdiction. In order to infer such acquiescence it would be necessary not only that Michael Perry regard withdrawal of jurisdiction as an option, but that the people themselves so regard it.

Whenever a bill to withdraw jurisdiction seems to have even a remote chance of passage, however, the organized bar and the academic establishment descend on Washington (I believe Harvard and Yale must charter buses) to pronounce constitutional anathemas. There is much talk of the Founders, of the Constitution, of the justices doing the best they can at their difficult task of interpreting a two-hundred-year-old document; there is very little talk of prophecy. Many members of Congress who strongly and genuinely oppose some Court decisions nevertheless oppose jurisdiction-withdrawing legislation because they have been convinced of its unconstitutionality. Other legislators use the perception of unconstitutionality as a shield against constituent pressure to do something about anti-majoritarian court decisions.

The justices themselves contribute to the confusion by presenting their noninterpretive decisions as genuine attempts to construe a document that binds us all. Even if a jurisdiction-limiting bill were to survive this gauntlet and become law, many legislators and state judges would regard themselves as bound by the Supreme Court's precedents in the area, since these precedents were cast as constitutional interpretations rather than as value judgments. When Harry Blackmun, Lowell Weicker, and the American Law Institute tell the people they can veto Supreme Court decisions, such decisions may begin deriving legitimacy from non-vetoes. But not before.

Speaking of Harry Blackmun, I believe not only that it is unrealistic to characterize our judges as the prophets of the American Israel, but that it would be undesirable to assign them this role. Professor Perry recognizes that a rejection of moral skepticism does not automatically entail the conclusion that judges (as opposed to legislators, carpenters, or the Joint Chiefs of Staff) will have the right answers. He argues, however, that judges are better situated than other government officials to perform the task of moral leadership, since legislators and executives tend to pay more attention to the desires of their constituencies than to their own sense of right and wrong.

Unfortunately, judges are also likely to be influenced by the opinions of their social and professional peers, and these opinions are no more likely to be disinterested (let alone to be objectively correct) than the constituent opinions that influence legislators. The Supreme Court's abortion opinions provide an illustration: Although academic criticism of the opinions has focused on the violence they did to canons of interpretation and to the principle of federalism, popular opposition has been primarily on moral grounds. Indeed, it is hard to imagine anyone being against abortion for reasons of self-interest; even if anti-abortion people are wrong about what a human being is, they are guilty only of misdirecting their zeal for human rights. If they are right, then abortion is the ultimate human-rights question, and the Court got it tragically wrong.

On other issues as well, the conceptual randomness with which the federal courts have designated the "individual rights" side of public-policy questions suggests the dangers of giving too much power to lawyer/prophets. Organizations that sue for massive interdistrict school busing to achieve racial balance are deemed to be seeking the protection of individual rights, but schoolchildren who claim a right to racially neutral school assignment are asserting a "governmental interest" entitled to no constitutional protection. Criminal defendants have "rights," but their past and prospective victims have subconstitutional "interests" that governments *may* choose to protect only if the defendant's court-created rights are not threatened, and *need* not protect even then.

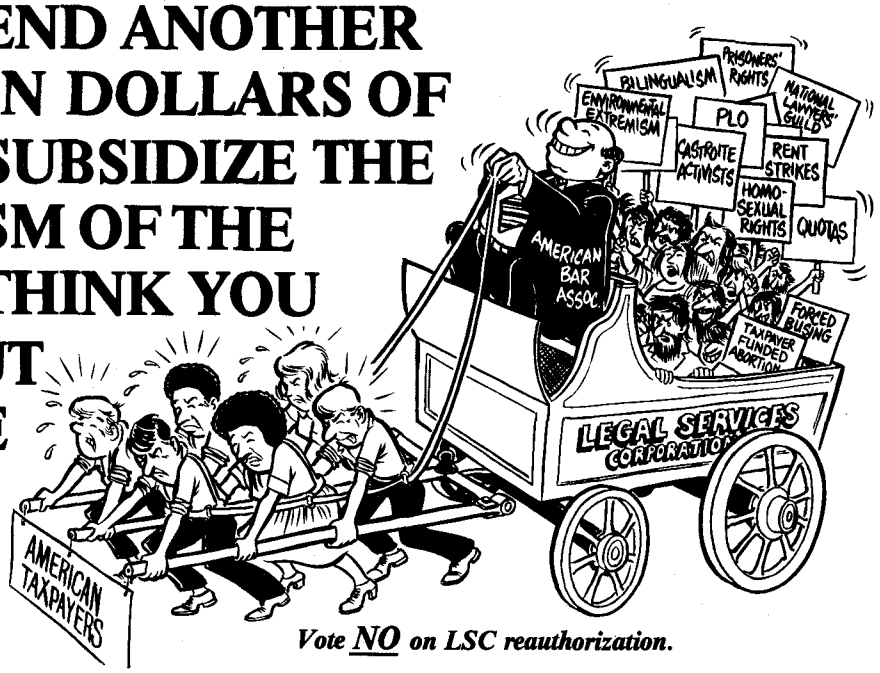
What the judicial solutions to abortion, busing, crime, and other issues had in common is not that these solutions inhere in the Constitution; nor, in my opinion, is it that they were the morally correct solutions. What they had in common was the support of the dominant faction of the social and intellectual elite that produces most of our judges. On the crucial moral questions of this age and of most others, our legislatures—informed by the evolving moral sense of the community, whose rank-and-file members are far more likely than lawyers, professors, or Rockefeller Foundation administrators to believe in right and wrong—have done a better job than the courts in protecting true human rights.

Unlimited majority power would, of course, be dangerous. So would unlimited judicial power; so is judicial power that is limited in theory but not in practice. Democracy limited in advance and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SENATOR:

BEFORE YOU SPEND ANOTHER QUARTER BILLION DOLLARS OF OUR MONEY TO SUBSIDIZE THE RADICAL ACTIVISM OF THE LSC, DON'T YOU THINK YOU SHOULD FIND OUT WHAT WAS DONE WITH THE LAST $2 BILLION?



Vote NO on LSC reauthorization.

Testimony of Howard Phillips, Chairman of The Conservative Caucus, before the Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources at a hearing on May 4, 1983.

On July 18, 1974, the Legal Services Corporation Act was approved by the U.S. Senate. On July 25, 1974, it was signed into law by Richard Nixon, who resigned the Presidency two weeks later.

Next year will be the tenth anniversary of that enactment. Federal funds appropriated to the Corporation have totalled, already, nearly two billion dollars.

The Corporation has continued, as a non-profit corporation, chartered in the District of Columbia, without a new authorization since October 1, 1980.

Present direct funding for the Corporation and its grantees goes forward at the rate of $241 million per year under a continuing resolution. Indirect Federal funding and support from other sources amounts to millions more.

During the past decade, this committee has sanctioned the activities and employment of more than 20,000 public policy activists whose guaranteed salaries and control over the supply of a service made "free" by taxpayer subsidy, have given them the freedom to organize, propagandize, lobby, litigate, patronize, and proselytize their preferred causes—unchecked either by market accountability or the close scrutiny of the people's elected representatives.

On those occasions when public attention has been drawn to the program's controversial activities, whether in the organization of political action groups, or involvement in ballot referenda, or the formation of lobbying coalitions and networks, or assistance to extremist causes of the radical Left, the Congressional reaction, if any, has, all too often, been to look the other way, amid pious pronouncements that such abuses are either incidental or unavoidable.

On other occasions, Congress has sought to contain abuses by passing regulations against pro-abortion activism, against homosexual proselytization, against representation of illegal aliens, against lobbying. Predictably, despite biennial assurances that the latest "reforms" have at last cured the abuses, the abuses have continued, ever more blatantly, ever more comprehensively.

There are many members of Congress, perhaps a majority, who are genuinely concerned about Legal Services Corporation-related abuses, but who, at the same time, do not wish to be characterized as being opposed to Federally financed guarantees of legal representation of the indigent.

It is my hope that, this year, the Labor and Human Resources Committee will seek to accommodate genuine desires for reform, during a period where, for the foreseeable future, continued funding of the Legal Services Corporation is assured and time for careful reflection is available.

Having gone for nearly three years without an authorization, there is no reason why, at a time when future funding is not in jeopardy, this committee cannot take a few months more to carry out the oversight responsibilities which have for so long been given a low priority by responsible authorizing committees in both houses of Congress.

The American people have the right to observe, and to inquire:

"This Corporation is nine years old. Where have our dollars gone?"

"What are the political objectives and organizational alliances of those who control the 325 private corporations which benefit from LSC funding?"

"To which organizations have tax dollars been reassigned? To which groups have dues been paid and benefits accorded? To which political training sessions and conferences have travel costs been subsidized?"

"What grass roots lobbying coalitions and activities have been inspired and coordinated by full time Legal Services personnel? What publications, press releases, and media campaigns have been organized and produced at taxpayer expense to influence public opinion?"

"To what degree have ideological activist groups like the National Lawyers Guild and the American Civil Liberties Union been subsidized by the in kind assistance of the LSC, its grantees, and other groups to which funds have been laundered or personnel assigned?"

"On which policy questions and before which decision-making authorities have LSC-funded policy activists arrogated to themselves the right to define the public interest and assert their self-proclaimed authority to act in behalf of the poor as a class?"

"What obligations and commitments are made by LSC-funded groups and their personnel when, for example, they join a highly political union, such as the United Auto Workers?"

"What obligations arise when LSC grantees or personnel accept supplemental funding from private foundations and other entities with policy agendas which may be in conflict with limited objectives intended for the Legal Services program by Congress?"

"In what ways are taxpayers subsidizing political activism when Federally subsidized Legal Services personnel accept positions of responsibility with groups in active support of, for example, the Palestine Liberation Organization, or various Central American Marxist-Leninist movements?"

"Are quotas always in the interest of the poor? Is abortion advocacy or homosexual proselytization necessary to serve and uplift the nation's needy?"

"To what degree does the pursuit of supplementary legal fee awards, rather than the pursuit of justice, motivate attorney behavior or influence program priorities?"

To the extent that, following a thorough review, abuses are found to exist (whether they are random, or the result of asserted designs) I submit that remedies are to be found not in more regulation, but in a fundamental redesign of the Legal Services program.

True reform can be achieved by relying upon the checks and balances of a fee for service, client-accountable system, rather than continuing a bureaucratic system (however much regulated) in which satisfaction of consumer need and market demand is entirely at the discretion of subsidized service providers.

I believe that a conscientious effort by your committee to place the LSC in the sunshine of full disclosure and accountability will document the problem which, over the years, have been protested by thousands of concerned citizens.

I am hopeful that you will undertake a comprehensive review of the LSC, asking its grantees to end the secretiveness which has all too often characterized their activities, and to voluntarily subject themselves to the disclosure requirements of the Freedom of Information Act from which they are now exempt.

It is not unreasonable to ask that you withhold judgement, at least with respect to the nature of any future authorization, until all the facts are in.

With respect to future fundings, I recommend that you require grantees to self-certify, at the time they apply for renewed funding, under penalty of law, that they will refrain from certain specifically delineated proscribed activities.

And, to assure that the program will serve the interests of the indigent legal consumer, rather than the salaried LSC professional, I hope you will move to a system of service delivery which permits eligible clients to choose their own lawyers, whether (a) through a lawyer referral program utilizing the private bar, (b) through vouchers, or (c) through a process of permitting attorneys in private practice to take a charitable tax deduction for indigent representation.

The Conservative Caucus, Inc.
National Headquarters: 450 Maple Avenue East
Vienna, Virginia 22180

I want to help get the facts out
to counteract the Leftist lawyers' lobbies.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in writing, by a document whose interpreters will try sincerely to interpret it, remains the best of all the imperfect solutions. Better, at any rate, than a forced march into the moral future led by prophets who are capable of *Roe* v. *Wade*. Who knows what new Jerusalems they might find? □

Overdrive: A Personal Documentary
By William F. Buckley Jr.
Doubleday, 264 pp., $16.95

LIFE IN SUPERLATIVES

FORREST McDONALD

The promotional blurb accompanying the advance proofs of *Overdrive* describes it as "a journal of seven whirlwind days in the life and times of William F. Buckley Jr." Since the book is in fact a journal of eight such days, the characterization is striking, and not only because publishers are not normally given to understatement. For one thing, 114 per cent is a modest estimate of what Buckley customarily gives of himself, and of what his audiences get for their money. For another, eight days a week is a modest estimate of how much time he spends working, playing, and living life to the fullest.

Consider. On Tuesday morning he rises early and Pat, half asleep, mutters that he must not be late for the ballet that night. Nothing extraordinary about that, except that they are in New York and the heart of the day's work is a speech and conference in St. Petersburg Beach. It is November, and this is his 44th speech of the year, though two months of the year (as always) had been spent in Switzerland. On the plane to Tampa he dictates letters to Norman Lear, Howard Hunt, and perhaps two dozen other people, great and small. An uneventful flight home, the ballet as guests of Joe and Estée Lauder, afterward a nightcap at the home of Mica and Ahmet Ertegun, back to the apartment and to bed. The next day is a breather, involving only about eight hours' work including writing one of his thrice-weekly columns, plus eight and a half hours of theater-going, watching *Nicholas Nickleby* with Ron and Doria Reagan. Then the pace picks up again: speeches in New York and Toledo on Thursday, to Louisville to tape two sessions of *Firing Line* on Friday, and every moment in between packed with activity, mostly work.

The blurb goes on to say that "*Overdrive* is pure Buckley (on Buckley)—by far his most personally revealing book." Indeed it is, and delightfully so on a number of levels. On one public level, for instance, he describes how *Firing Line* is put together. It is always interesting for fans to be taken behind the scenes of a program, but Buckley does more. Quoting portions of the transcript of an interview, he interpolates in brackets his private thoughts and his tactical motives—such as to make an ass of an objectionable interviewee or to avoid making an ass of himself. The result is an instructive and amusing insight into his mind at work.

More personally yet, there is Buckley on writing. Those who know only his political journalism are missing a great deal; for all his felicity, both the subject matter and the pressure of deadlines limit what he can do with the language. Given time for more careful craftsmanship, as obviously he has been here, he sprinkles literary gems on every page (when a young lady he does not recognize accosts him as "Uncle Bill" and kisses him, he is "garrulously dumbstruck"). Again, there are his literary idiosyncrasies. His use of obscure words and Latinisms is a trademark, of course, but only in studiedly casual works such as this does it come through that when he slips, say, "antonomasia" into a sentence he is neither being pretentious nor seeking to edify, but simply having fun. (I shall be completely convinced of this diagnosis, however, only when he recites something in Latin and adds, as Wodehouse once did, "It is no good pretending out of politeness that you know what that means, so I will translate.") But there are other idiosyncrasies that vary from time to time and with context. At one point, no doubt under the influence of D. Keith Mano, who is capable of dividing a word or even a comma with a colon, he became a practitioner of extreme laissez-faire in punctuation; in a Blackford Oakes novel I counted something like 27 punctuation marks in a single sentence. He has happily passed beyond that phase, but now he has declared war on the accusative form of the pronoun "who" except after a preposition. And, be it added as an aside, he is actually capable of dangling a participle: "I telephone my office, and dictate the column into the recording machine. Moments after hanging up, my brother Jim reaches me by phone from Washington."

He talks about writing and tries to explain why he does it even though—like most people who are easy and fluent conversationalists—he admits that "I do not enjoy writing." The explanation does not quite come off because, while

RANDOM NOTES

■ MORE SEPTEMBER TITLES: *Eisenhower: Soldier, General of the Army, President-Elect: 1890-1952* (Simon & Schuster, $19.95), by Stephen E. Ambrose, is a very readable, sympathetic yet clear-sighted and frank, biography by an editor of the Eisenhower papers.

Murray Rothbard's *The Mystery of Banking* (Richardson & Snyder/Dutton, $19.95) offers a history of banking, an explanation of modern-day inflation, and some interesting recommendations, including abolition of the Fed and the return of gold to its true market value.

In *Eagle Defiant: United States Foreign Policy in the 1980s* (Little, Brown, $19.95) —edited by Kenneth A. Oye, Robert J. Lieber, and Donald Rothschild—foreign-policy commentators take a jaundiced view of President Reagan's activities in world affairs, which they argue constitute a defiance of constraints accepted by his immediate predecessors, who "adapted to the secular decline of American economic and military power and to increasing international economic interdependence."

The Best American Short Stories 1983 (Houghton Mifflin, $14.95), edited by Anne Tyler with Shannon Ravenel, includes stories by Larry Woiwode, Ursula LeGuin, John Updike, and Wright Morris.

■ SOME OCTOBER TITLES: *The Death Penalty: A Debate* (Plenum, $16.95), by Ernest van den Haag and John P. Conrad, and with a foreword by Arthur J. Goldberg, is a pithy and judicious examination of the capital-punishment issue by prominent spokesmen on opposite sides of the question. . . . Irving Kristol's *Reflections of a Neoconservative: Looking Back, Looking Ahead* (Basic, $19.95) is a collection of thirty essays cast loosely in the form of a political autobiography. Kristol argues that the roots of neoconservatism are to be found in the ideas of the Founding Fathers, who feared the effects of urbanization on democracy; he brands socialism as "a romantic passion," the contemporary arts as utopian romanticism. —CW

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

STUDENTS!!!
LAST CHANCE TO:
(1) Take advantage of National Review's Special Academic year offer.
(2) Do it now, before you miss another issue.
(3) Tell your friends about it.*
USE THIS CARD

If **you** have student friends (or are a parent or relative of a student), we hope you will not miss this final opportunity to make sure that the student **you** care about has **National Review** this year. It can be an invaluable help in and out of the classroom. And you can send **National Review** for the current academic year (18 issues) for only $12.95 (a saving of $14.05 over the newsstand price). Do it now, so as not to miss another issue. The postpaid card facing this page will speed your reply. Drop it in the mail **today**. **P.S. GIFTS WELCOMED**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

no one ever accused Bill Buckley of being self-effacing, he is nonetheless too modest to give the real reason; and yet that reason is visible between the lines on every page. It is that he has been blessed in so many ways that he feels a powerful compulsion to make payment for his gifts, and writing in service of the public is the best way he knows how.

Let me mention some other personal qualities that come through despite Buckley's unwillingness to write about them and probably even to think about them. His public image is that of the steel-tough, aristocratic, intellectual warrior, but beneath that formidable exterior beats the heart of an Irishman—by which I mean that he is stunningly sentimental, thoughtful, kind, and generous. This is made abundantly, if unconsciously, evident here in a variety of ways, but I think I can illustrate it most succinctly with a personal anecdote. At a Philadelphia Society dinner I took my son up to the podium to introduce him to Buckley, who was the featured speaker. Buckley's response was instantaneous: "Tell me, Kevin, what is it like having such a distinguished scholar for a father?" Pure blarney, perhaps, but also an entirely unaffected and characteristic gesture that gave both father and son a gift they continue to treasure.

A related quality is Buckley's outsized capacity for friendships. He has world-class name-dropping credentials (during the eight days he talked on the phone with the President and Vice President, and David Niven was his weekend house guest), but that is not what I mean. His range of friends is staggering; about all one has to do to qualify is meet him and be decent and interesting. He honestly *likes* John Kenneth Galbraith and Norman Lear, wrongheaded as such folks are. Moreover, he admires and respects—and goes out of his way to befriend—the truly competent in almost any line of endeavor, from his chauffeur to his favorite pianists to a man in Texarkana who rebuilds Cadillac bodies.

Underlying all this is a profound and infectious joy whose most visible manifestation is enthusiasm. He is nearly casual in his use of superlatives, for he experiences life in superlatives. Occasionally, as he candidly admits, this leads to errors in judgment, but that is not enough to dampen his zest. Often he thinks things are better than they are, but critical disparagement is also unlikely to dampen his zest. Moreover, his enthusiasm is contagious.

I cannot imagine how anybody could fail to enjoy this book, save possibly those who are unable to read. On second consideration, I think maybe his charm could overcome even that obstacle. If I may resort to another personal anecdote: Some months ago Buckley was in Tuscaloosa for a speech, after which my wife and I had a nightcap with him in a quiet little bar in his hotel. Late in the evening the cocktail waitress, who had previously obtained his autograph, floated quietly to the table to ask whether we wanted refills—just as he was in the middle of a story involving extremely complex technological processes in the publishing industry. When Buckley noticed her presence he smiled graciously and said to her, "This will utterly fascinate you," and proceeded to finish the story. I doubt whether she understood every third word, but she listened raptly, and was utterly fascinated. □

1934
By Alberto Moravia
Farrar, 297 pp., $14.50

CAPRI DUPLEX

D. KEITH MANO

1934 has both the physique and the ambivalent voice of a Shakespearean problem play. There are black urges, sardonic comedy, and that peculiar foredoomed sense—which, in *Measure for Measure*, say, is more external manipulation than tragic drive. Capri, the island, might as well be an Elizabethan theater: one sea-enclosed set: characters enter and exit by boat, and their offstage life is unproven supposition. Moravia, furthermore, has double-knit a plot so intricate that it hovers close to pure contrivance: mistaken identity, extravagant coincidence, and some unbelievable motivation. But you reckon, too, that an adroit master is stress-fracturing nature here: one who had gotten impatient with the punctilio of fiction, in particular with realism and its mechanistic etiquette.

Lucio, a 27-year-old first-person protagonist, is more humor than character. He will enact Despair for you. In 1934—and for this reason Moravia placed his novel back then—despondency was still a respectable, even romantic, condition. Today Lucio would be absurd as infant dentures: in 1984 you take Valium or do Group to counteract despair, which anyway would be called depression now. Lucio can channel-flip from turgid, purple metaphors that ooze like a rotten Fabergé egg, to sensual writing so terrific I've only *smelled*, not read, its equal before. (Though the latter isn't quite credible, more Moravia than Lucio.) All this will be intercut by fatuous, scholastic philosophizing of, I think, an intentionally ridiculous sort. "[It] seemed to redouble my basic and familiar despair with another despair that I might call supplementary and contingent." Lucio talks about despair as if it were some kind of job classification.

Such disgust with the world should, logically, incline one to suicide. Lucio, however, is a passionate pragmatist: he'd rather find some Dramamine for his Sartrean nausée. He means to "stabilize" his desperation: give it functional permanent resident status. You might as well put Nupercaine on heartbreak.

Without blowing the whole plot, I introduce Beate and Trude here—one woman who has two distinct personalities. Beate, like Lucio, is in chronic despair. She appears chaste, forlorn, scarred by fate, lovely and suicidal. Trude, in contrast, is gorging on life, sensual, joyous, and a cruel, dogmatic Nazi. This duplex-person theme will be elaborated further through one long, otherwise digressive, mid-novel anecdote: the story of Evno, who was both good Communist and Okhrana operative, no contradiction there. Beyond question *1934* is about the cleft personhood in all people, but especially in people under totalitarian rule, where some acceptable public image must be presented to a vigilant, obdurate state. Failure will entail de facto suicide or at least several heavy course loads in Gulag/Auschwitz. Meanwhile, quite another chap, that problematical "true" self, is maintained on the secret side. But, under ubiquitous Nazi or Communist pressure, your politically uncontroversial persona will be more bearable, safe. Good Germans, good Communists do exist: on one floor anyway of their bi-level self.

Lucio, the temporizer, would like Beate/Trude to be settled by binding arbitration—to make a composite third woman: despair and love without sui-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cide. But Lucio can't even reconcile himself, let alone Beate/Trude. Lucio the desolate will disavow the Lucio who exults in sunlight and water on Capri. Here Moravia has gill-netted a central human insight: I've never seen it so lucidly taught before. To say that we are all of us several people at once would be to say a commonplace. But the also commonplace—yet untrue—assumption from this is that we are several people simultaneously. Not so. The human personality isn't continuous.

X, for instance, can be both good husband and promiscuous male. We are struck by the contradiction because it is presumed that X is consistent, whole. But death alone will homogenize a self. Beate is fully Beate when being Beate—though she may remember her Trude self. Human will can affect this shift to a large degree but never completely. Lust and hunger and fear often surprise the mind. An apt image would be AC current. The observing eye perceives constant brightness, but that steady illumination derives from alternate, almost instantaneous dark/light. Good Evno/bad Evno do not cohabit mind space. They leap in and out of the psyche, as if it were a motel room, which would appear more or less unchanged no matter who had rented it.

1934, too, is split. Half a novel of dense consideration, half of exuberant longing. Moravian sensuality transcends the erotic. It is passionate humanism: he can find, say, an 18-year-old tongue in some decrepit woman's mouth. There is love here: for all those mad alternating currents in us. Alberto Moravia will be 78 soon. I find such insight and enthusiasm in a writer of that age consoling. It is required now only to live long enough. □

Katherine Anne Porter: A Life
By Joan Givner
Simon & Schuster, 572 pp., $19.95

PORTRAIT OF A POSEUR

TERRY TEACHOUT

No literary biographer worth his salt could ask for a more promising subject than Katherine Anne Porter, the undisputed *grande dame* of Southern letters and a formidable character by anyone's reckoning. Her life was full of contradictions—the kind that make for good reading. She was regarded as one of the most important writers of her time; yet her reputation rests on three volumes of short stories, a handful of first-rate essays, and one famously uneven novel—a slender corpus for an ostensibly major author. She lived through a seemingly endless procession of marriages, divorces, and promiscuous interludes; yet she paid lip service to Catholicism throughout it all. She was a compulsive liar whenever the subject was herself; yet she spent her later years in search of a satisfactory biographer.

Four years before her death in 1980, Miss Porter finally selected a biographer: Joan Givner, a professor at the University of Regina in Saskatchewan. Miss Givner has now come through with the first factually reliable full-scale treatment of Miss Porter's life, a five-hundred-page tome bearing the sober title *Katherine Anne Porter: A Life*. Her book is frank, thorough, and carefully researched; but it is still oddly unsatisfactory—for reasons that are not quite as obvious as you might think.

To be sure, all the obvious things *are* wrong with Miss Givner's book. The prose is hopelessly academic: donnish chapter titles ("The Porter Family History: Legend, Memory, Whimsy, and Applejack"), platitudinous fanfares ("To consider Katherine Anne Porter's childhood is to realize the remarkable nature of her achievement, for no writer can have grown up in more complete literary isolation"), tin-eared sentence structure ("It is appropriate, therefore, to examine carefully the confluence of circumstances which made possible Porter's achievement").

Miss Givner is also a compulsive explainer. Though she manages to avoid the excesses of such notorious female psycho-biographers as Fawn Brodie or Margaret Brenman-Gibson, her book is still clotted with the kind of interpretations that most readers prefer to make for themselves:

> Thus the death of her mother, while it was a personal tragedy which ruined her child-

Which of these languages would you like to speak?

Mark the one you want to speak in 2 or 3 months' time

☐ Afrikaans	☐ German	☐ Malay
☐ American English	☐ Greek (Modern)	☐ Norwegian
☐ Arabic	☐ Hebrew (Modern)	☐ Polish
☐ Chinese	☐ Hindi	☐ Portuguese
☐ Danish	☐ Indonesian	☐ Russian
☐ Dutch	☐ Irish	☐ Spanish
☐ Finnish	☐ Italian	☐ Swedish
☐ French	☐ Japanese	☐ Welsh

A Linguaphone Course makes you feel at home in almost any country. You'll never miss the meaning of conversations or be at a loss for words.

- It must work—over 4 million Linguaphone students in 88 countries speak a second language FLUENTLY
- Proven learning success. You LISTEN to real conversations on cassettes....UNDERSTAND what you hear by following illustrated textbooks. HOLD CONVERSATIONS with the speakers.
- **You start speaking the very first lesson.** You learn at your own convenience.
- It's like having a private tutor.
- You get a complete, professional language program at little cost.
- You gain a good, working vocabulary.
- In just 2 to 3 months you can speak another language with complete confidence.
- You develop an authentic accent. Only native-born speakers are used.

Linguaphone The Language Masters

MONEY BACK GUARANTEE 28 DAY FREE TRIAL

World Language Courses, Inc. Dept. 549 313 Nolana Ave. McAllen, Texas 78504

FREE INFORMATION: Please mail me FREE information about learning the languages I have checked. FREE brochure.

Name (please print) _____

Street _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

hood, became an asset in her development as an artist, the basic necessity for which was that she become a free and independent woman.

Indeed, Miss Givner spends so much time on this sort of thing that two key duties of the literary biographer very nearly slip past her altogether: Her discussions of Miss Porter's stories are explicatory rather than critical, and she rarely gives the reader any sense of the way in which Miss Porter's work was received by her contemporaries. ("At one thirty in the morning," Miss Givner writes, "she was standing on a snowy, windy corner, putting [a story] into the mailbox to Lincoln Kirstein, the editor of *Hound and Horn*. The story was 'Flowering Judas' and it made her literary reputation." That's the last we hear of Mr. Kirstein and *Hound and Horn*—and just about the last we hear of "Flowering Judas" and Miss Porter's unmade literary reputation.) Moreover, Miss Givner casually dismisses the problem of Miss Porter's current eclipse as a literary figure in a single paragraph, attributing "the present decline in her popularity" to "an error in judgment."

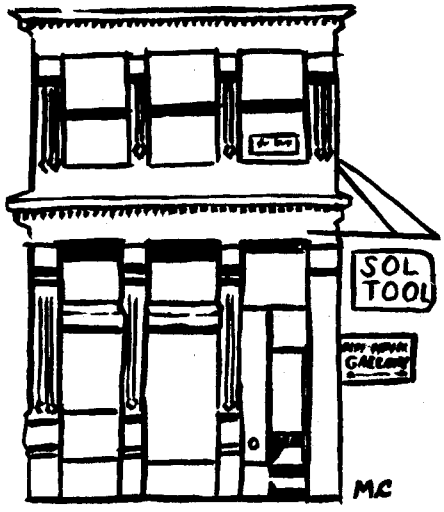
THESE FLAWS detract from the overall impression made by *Katherine Anne Porter: A Life*; but they would not be fatal by themselves. For Miss Givner has put in overtime on her homework, and it shows. She has managed to clear away nearly all the dust thrown up by Miss Porter's obsessive fabulism; at last, we have a version of Katherine Anne Porter's personal history that can be accepted as fact instead of being viewed with tetchy suspicion. Taking her cue from Miss Porter's own essay "Noon Wine: The Sources," Miss Givner has done a first-rate job of tracking down the autobiographical details that litter the pages of *Flowering Judas*, *Pale Horse, Pale Rider*, and *The Leaning Tower*. And she is candid: Her book is neither whitewash nor caricature.

But one cannot read *Katherine Anne Porter: A Life* without acquiring a profound distaste for its subject—and it is this, more than the flaws of the book itself, that makes Miss Givner's well-meant efforts so unsatisfying. Miss Porter, it seems, was a liar: One of her best friends said flatly that she "would not believe a word Porter said." She was vindictive: Her old husbands and lovers were regularly dismissed with such epithets as "filthy," "that monster," "a silly fraud," "a congenital liar." Her personal life was a dog's breakfast: "She told Malcolm Cowley when she was approaching forty and before her last two marriages," Miss Givner reports, "that . . . she had had four husbands and 37 lovers." (Not a few of whom, it turns out, were homosexual.) And she was the kind of incense junkie who, "even when she wavered in her ability to believe in God . . . never wavered in her preference for Catholicism over every other religious creed."

Yet Katherine Anne Porter fancied herself a moralist; her work, she said, revolved about the unchanging theme of "the constant endless collusion between good and evil," and Miss Givner tells us that

> she condemned *Under the Volcano*, *Brideshead Revisited*, and *All the King's Men*, among other works, because she thought the writers' sympathies with their morally reprehensible main characters made the books "evil." She thought the books manifested moral confusions such as no real artist ever has.

It puts one in mind of the passage in *Chronicles of Wasted Time* where Malcolm Muggeridge gleefully tells the story of how Walt Whitman, posing for the frontispiece of *Leaves of Grass* with a butterfly delicately perched on one finger, made judicious use of "a preserved butterfly with a specially fitted ring attached for fastening on his finger." An equally revealing photograph is reproduced in Miss Givner's book; it shows Katherine Anne Porter seated at a piano, gazing off into the distance, waving her hands foolishly over the keyboard. The caption notes that she never learned to play the piano. Like all the rest of this unintentionally damning biography, it is a portrait of a poseur.



One returns anxiously to the stories of Katherine Anne Porter after reading Joan Givner's book, thinking: Will they still hold up? Miss Givner takes it for granted that her subject is an American classic, an author of the very first rank, in spite of the current tendency to view Miss Porter's work as an accomplished but rather dated contribution to Southern letters; and the emetic tone of this candid biography makes the reader feel that only an author of the first rank should have been *allowed* to get away with so shabby a life.

Sad to say, Miss Porter's stories no longer look as good as they used to. The tone is sometimes dangerously arch, the diction often forced; the vagueness of her good-and-evil "theme" gives a superficial air to the doings of many of her cardboard characters. And one gets the definite feeling that even Miss Porter's best work, good as it is, has in a sense been superseded by the writing of Flannery O'Connor—in something of the same way that many modern readers find Hemingway stale and clichéd. Part of this feeling comes from the fact that Flannery O'Connor simply had a better ear; but part of it, as Miss Givner's biography reveals, is rooted in the more fundamental fact that while one author was a real Catholic, the other was a Catholic *manqué*.

Joan Givner alludes to but fails to quote the whole of a passage from a 1958 letter in which Flannery O'Connor describes her first meeting with Katherine Anne Porter. The omission is an unfortunate one; the whole of Miss Porter can be found in that infinitely sad letter. "When she asked me where we were going in Europe and I said Lourdes," Miss O'Connor wrote,

> a very strange expression came over her face, just a slight shock as if some sensitive spot had been touched. . . . After that the conversation somehow got on the subject of death . . . in the way that death is discussed at dinner tables, as if it were a funny subject. She said she thought it was very nice to believe that we would all meet in Heaven and she rather hoped we would but she didn't really know. She wished she knew who exactly was in charge of this universe, and where she was going. She would be glad to go where she was expected if she knew. . . . It was a little coy and a little wistful but there was a terrible need evident underneath it.

A great writer on a good writer: Never has the chilly distinction been made so plain. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Literary Humor of the Urban Northeast 1830-1890
Edited by David E. E. Sloane
Louisiana, 319 pp., $22.50

Chicago's Public Wits
Edited by Kenny J. Williams and Bernard Duffey
Louisiana, 289 pp., $22.50

WHAZIDAT

JOE MYSAK

Literary humor exists almost entirely in a sort of underground, largely ignored by the critical press and by those whose business it is to keep the best books before the public. Knowledge of the real classics of literary humor is gathered like military intelligence, furtively, through word of mouth, dusty research, and actual contact with the scrolls. Networks of fanatics devote themselves to the propagation of a favorite humorist's work.

As is so often the case with items of literary history, only the university presses seem interested in doing anything about the situation, and so we have two commendable studies from the Louisiana State University Press—*The Literary Humor of the Urban Northeast 1830-1890* and *Chicago's Public Wits*. Each book provides a scholarly history of its school or area, capsule biographies of the participants, and examples of their work.

In *The Literary Humor of the Urban Northeast*, Professor David E. E. Sloane of the University of New Haven makes a case for the existence of an "Urban Northeast" school. The authors included are only loosely related geographically, but all had their works published in Boston, New York, or Philadelphia. According to Professor Sloane, they shared a philosophical point of view, one that celebrated innocence and idealism. He writes, of this "new and largely unrecognized comic literary terrain," that its writers "were individualistic, fiercely democratic, and romantic in philosophy —although they would have claimed the contrary—and aware of corporate government and a new urban industrial world."

Professor Sloane continues, "Romantic egalitarianism brought forth comic works that were far more varied than the vernacular humor of the Old Southwest, focused on the plantation and the bear hunt." What this means, more often than not, unfortunately, is that Sloane is given license to reprint either lame satire, "social conscience" writing, or abolitionist tracts, none of which are very comic, but all of which were a stock in trade of the humorists.

The Literary Humor of the Urban Northeast is, if nothing else, a skillful job of embalming. The greater part of the book deals with writers like George P. Morris, Joseph C. Neal, and Charles G. Leland, who were all popular in Lincoln's time but who are almost completely unknown today. We also have some better-known humorists, however, like the Canadian Thomas C. Halliburton, creator of sharp Yankee Sam Slick; P. T. Barnum, who is admitted to the ranks on the strength of his autobiography; and Charles F. Browne, the canny "Artemus Ward," who is nevertheless given short shrift by Professor Sloane. The collection also includes Samuel Clemens in the Urban Northeast school —entirely appropriately, I think—although Sloane notes that Clemens surpassed the Urban Northeast "tradition," with visionary works that avoided the more didactic and moralistic approach widely favored at the time.

PROFESSORS Williams and Duffey of Duke University, in their book on Chicago's public wits, have a much easier time of it, and have produced a more ebullient work. They have no special case to plead, no "school" to prove, and consequently no need for Professor Sloane's heavy critical apparatus. They are also working with a better cast and more congenial material. The editors record in brief the careers of the humorists who achieved fame in the world of Chicago journalism, from the 1840s to the present. They dredge up a few antiques, such as Franc B. Wilkie, who made his name as a correspondent during the Civil War, but mainly stick with the classics of the 1880s and beyond.

Among these are Eugene Field and George Ade, who plied their trade in the *Tribune* and the *Record*, respectively, at the turn of the century. Theirs was, according to the editors, "a segment of American humorous writing unparalleled for the warmth of its relation to its time and location." The heyday or golden age (1883-1900) includes Finley Peter Dunne, creator of the widely known Mr. Dooley. The editors reprint

TAP KIT

THESAURUS AT PLAY (TAP)

The Last Word in Word Games

TAP is a sophicated word-game for adults. The 104 eclectic words in each of its 52-card decks were gleaned from the works of distinguished writers. Some are poignant, some exotic, and some even erotic. All certainly belong in any educated adult's vocabulary. Groups of two or more can vie for supremacy in this exhilarating game in which both word-knowledge and Fortuna—the goddess of chance—play parts. Even a solitary browse through TAP's decks of piquant words and their origins is engrossing and rewarding. To begin a fascinating odyssey into the wonderful world of words, send for a TAP kit with any 2 of the following 4 decks: (A) COLLEGE LEVEL, B) EPONYMS & TOPONYMS, C) MANIAS & PHOBIAS, (D) OLOGIES & -ISMS. The odyssey will continue as future thematic decks are being announced.

	Qty.	Unit$	Total
TAP Kit (mark 2 decks): (A) (B) (C) (D)	___	$15.75	_____
Separate Decks (A)__(B)__(C)__(D)	___	4.85	_____
Add 8% for handling and postage			_____
(Calif. residents only- add sales tax)			_____
TOTAL			_____

Send check or money order to:
Logophilia Unlimited
P.O. Box 11344A Palo Alto, CA 94306

THE GREAT UNIVERSITIES

provided the ground for the important political leaders, philosophers, theologians, scientists, lawyers, poets, and religious of the past.

Our college program is based on the Humanities as discerned in the great books of Western civilization and as seen through the eyes of the Christian humanist.

THOMAS MORE INSTITUTE OF LIBERAL ARTS

FOR CATALOGUE AND BROCHURE WRITE TO:

DR. PETER V. SAMPO
Thomas More Institute of Liberal Arts
One Manchester Street
Merrimack, N.H. 03054

PLEASE SEND ME INFORMATION ABOUT THIS PROGRAM

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

CITY ..... STATE ..... ZIP .....

TELEPHONE .....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

his famous review of Teddy Roosevelt's book *The Rough Riders*—which Mr. Dooley suggested might be more aptly titled *Alone in Cubia.*

The era of the First World War brought the growing segmentation of public wit. "Chicago was becoming more difficult to treat as a community of the whole," according to the editors. This led to the rise of more cynical wits, such as Ring Lardner, the first of the moderns to impress H. L. Mencken and influence Ernest Hemingway, as well as the rise of the at-times sniffish literary column, piloted by the likes of Burton Rascoe, Ben Hecht, and even Carl Sandburg—a group that more or less paralleled the New York Algonquin circle. The more cynical tradition, now given a tough-guy Mickey Spillane edge, has been extended by the likes of Mike Royko to the present day.

Both *The Literary Humor of the Urban Northeast* and *Chicago's Public Wits* are valuable guides to the esoteric pleasures of American literary humor. They necessarily tantalize but do not satisfy, and will doubtless become part of the genre's underground lore. □

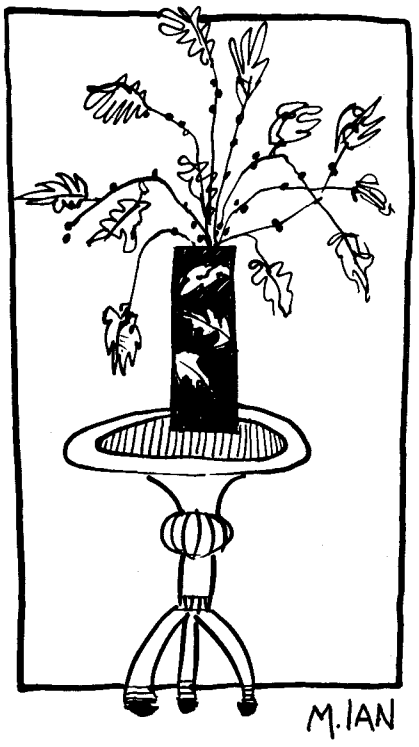
TELEVISION

NEVER APOLOGIZE

JOSEPH SOBRAN

Reagan press conferences are getting hard to bear. The President appears poorly briefed much of the time, and he is often at a loss for a crisp answer. He finds it impossible to say directly that the reason we have armed forces along the coasts of Central America is to prevent that part of our own continent from going Communist. He seems apologetic.

The press conference has also become a degrading ritual. Callow reporters seem eager to show their stuff by putting the Big Man on the spot. Instead of trying to elicit information, they try to pose philosophical questions. Candy Crowley, of AP Network News, made her debut at the most recent conference by asking Reagan if, assuming he deplores the use of force, our naval maneuvers off Central America are an appropriate "signal" to send. It was up to the President of the United States to



justify himself to Candy. His answer rambled embarrassingly.

But his answers are no worse than many of the questions. It must have taken Chris Wallace of NBC hours of preparation to achieve the sublime fatuity of his question whether there being no women on the new commission on Central America "adds to the perception that you're not sensitive to women." How would George Washington have handled that one?

About the only virtue of these conferences is that they do expose the myth of journalistic neutrality: Nearly every question comes from the left. Not the hard left, but some vague, sentimental left that imagines a world without conflict, without poverty, without inhibitions, and adopts a pose of moral superiority to this world for its failure to approximate this pure fantasy.

The main exceptions to this rule on television are Ted Koppel on ABC's *Nightline*, and PBS's Robert MacNeil and Jim Lehrer. These are agile, fair-minded, and imaginative questioners who can conceive different perspectives and adopt them hypothetically without falling into the merely visionary.

Irving Kristol recently observed that journalism schools represent the bottom 40 per cent of the college population: Only colleges of education rank lower. He thinks this accounts for the low level of intelligence we see at work in the media, where "adversary" journalism doesn't mean serious criticism of government but mere cynical posturing.

There are limits to the adversary relationship. Richard Threlkeld of ABC News didn't show much skepticism toward Cuba and its dictator—make that "leader"—on a recent visit there. On the contrary, he took the official Cuban position that things are much better now than under "the brutal, corrupt Batista regime bankrolled by the American Mafia and casinos." He went on to suggest that the U.S. has made Cuba a scapegoat for "homegrown" (read: "indigenous") revolutions in Nicaragua and El Salvador.

Considering what a hard time the media have always given Ronald Reagan, it was startling to see how gently and amicably Dan Rather treated Alan Cranston in a recent feature on Cranston's drive for the Presidency. Not only were the questions ridiculously soft: Rather closed the piece by delivering the case for Cranston himself, looking right into the camera.

Of course if Cranston is elected, he will be criticized too—but from the left. Media "criticism" is utterly ahistorical, as witness a recent feature by CBS's Meredith Viera on "the women's movement" in Manhattan, Kansas. It seems that women in this little town are doing all sorts of unprecedented things. Why, one of them is even a basketball coach! All this was related in a history-in-the-making, victory-for-the-movement tone that implied there was a revolution going on. These media people apparently think of revolution as the paradigmatic form of politics. It never occurs to them to think of politics as what Michael Oakeshott calls a "pursuit of intimations"—a concrete and practical application of lively traditions. When I was a boy in Michigan, women were quite active in politics, and I don't think anyone would have fainted if a woman had coached a basketball team. Oakeshott points out that even women's suffrage was anything but a break with tradition: Western women had been owning property, living independently, and pursuing professional careers for such a long time that giving them the vote was a way of clearing up an anomaly, not overturning the cart.

Confronting such people, Reagan asks for trouble when he shows an apologetic demeanor and pleads that his policies will come nearer to fulfilling their fantasies than the alternative policies would. If only he could bring himself to say forthrightly that, as Oakeshott

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

puts it, governing is "a specific and limited activity." Specific, mind you, *then* limited: not that government should do little or nothing, but that it exists to do a certain *kind* of good, and no other. That would be realism. But of course it's probably utopian to expect it. □

FILM

LA TRADITA

JOHN SIMON

What utter nonsense opera on film is! Ingmar Bergman almost got away with it in his version of *The Magic Flute*, but even there I had to rely considerably on my love for Bergman and indifference to Mozart. And though *La Traviata* is, to me, rather an old chestnut, I wouldn't have picked Franco Zeffirelli to retrieve it from the fire with a movie version that has been lingering on our screens rather longer than it deserves. Zeffirelli is a fellow of small but flashy talent and fairly execrable taste, who nevertheless managed to carve (if that isn't too virile a word) a niche for himself in theater, film, and opera. Hopelessly sentimental and with a campy sensibility, he began his cinematic career as assistant to the late Luchino Visconti, another director of theater, film, and opera with similar predilections albeit slightly more talent. Zeffirelli has been responsible for any number of disagreeable films, of which the most successful was the 1968 *Romeo and Juliet* ("the with-it version for modern youngsters," as Leslie Halliwell calls it), and the most obnoxious were *The Taming of the Shrew* with the Burtons, *Brother Sun, Sister Moon*, about St. Francis of Assisi, *Endless Love* with Brooke Shields, and the TV film *Jesus of Nazareth.*

In connection with another wretched movie of our eclectic's, *The Champ* (the 1979 remake of a 1931 boxing tearjerker), I quoted here a line from an early Lina Wertmüller movie, where a rich husband tells his wife, "Your idea of poverty is a garret in *La Bohème* designed by Franco Zeffirelli." Since then, audiences at the Metropolitan Opera have been able to verify the appositeness of that remark. In the movie of *La Traviata*, the director has Violetta living in a town house that would put the Louvre to shame; as for her country place, it could compete, if not with Versailles, surely with Fontainebleau. The film begins with shots of Paris as the orchestra, under James Levine, plays the overture; as my companion commented when the clip-clop of hooves was superimposed on Verdi's music (a carriage is driving up to Violetta's house), any director capable of that should have desisted altogether from making the film.

The film is not only directed and designed by Zeffirelli, it is also "written" by him. What does that mean? We begin with Violetta—whose art treasures are being appraised and carted off by a host of creditors (it looks rather like the Manet Exhibition being moved from Paris to New York)—confined to her enormous bedroom, where she is crying her heart out for Alfredo and coughing her lungs up from consumption. A handsome, though somewhat effete, furniture mover wanders into the boudoir and watches the once-resplendent courtesan, now a woman fallen onto her bed in a coughing fit, her cheeks hollow, her hair moderately disheveled. Profound pity—or something as near to it as a performer not chosen for his talent can muster—registers on the youth's face, on which the camera dwells more lovingly than on poor Violetta's. Then the tale, as they say, unfolds in retrospect.

Just located...

GENUINE U.S. GOV'T. MORGAN SILVER DOLLARS

THE CONSUMER'S COIN RESERVE announces: Price guaranteed for one week only, 4,871 original Morgan Silver Dollars will be released to the American public @ $19.90 each ...$30.10 less than a major national advertiser.

MORGAN STOCK LOCATED: 4,871 original Morgan Silver dollars dated 1878-1904 & 1921 have been located and will be sold to the public through this notice. The federal government melted down 270,232,722 silver dollars during World War I by an Act of Congress, increasing the value of these coins dramatically. Their silver content then as today is .900 fine silver. Despite fluctuations in the price of silver, Morgan Silver Dollars have had an average annual appreciation of 26.5% in value over the last 10 years alone!

MARKET CONDITIONS: The combination of fluctuations in the silver market and locating these Morgan Silver Dollars has made this offer possible. Each coin is guaranteed to be genuine .900 fine silver with a certificate to that effect. We can only guarantee this price for one week due to the volatility of the precious metals market.

TAKE NOTE: Our price for these .900 fine silver Morgans, many of which are over 100 years old is $19.90 each. This price is $30.10 less than another nationally advertised price, therefore we advise you to get your order in early before the strict limit at this price is sold. We offer a 14 day examination period for each coin, coins returned within that time will receive a full refund. A limit of twenty coins per customer will be strictly adhered to.

For VISA & Mastercard Holders
CALL TOLL FREE
800-824-7888
Ask for Operator #709
24 Hours a day—7 days a week—including Sunday
In California 800-852-7777 In Alaska & Hawaii—800-824-7919

© 1983 CMG, Inc., 111 Brook St., Suite 350, Scarsdale, N.Y. 10583

Consumer's Coin Reserve, Dept.GQQ334
P.O. Box 1049, Scarsdale., N.Y. 10583

Please send me by insured mail_____Morgan Silver Dollars at $19.90 each, plus postage, handling, and insurance as indicated below. I have 14 days to inspect my coins, at which time I will receive a full refund if I return them to you by insured mail.

☐ (#906A) 1 Morgan Silver Dollar only $19.90 plus $3 postage, handling and insurance
☐ (#906E) 5 Morgan Silver Dollars only $99.50 plus $5 postage, handling and insurance
☐ (#906J) 10 Morgan Silver Dollars only $199 plus $10 postage, handling and insurance
☐ (#906T) 20 Morgan Silver Dollars only $398 plus $15 postage, handling and insurance

N.Y. residents add sales tax.
Total amount enclosed $_____
Charge your order ☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard Exp. date_____
Acc't #_____
Signature_____
Telephone number_____
Mr. Mrs. Ms. Miss_____
Address_____
City_____
State_____ Zip_____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Later, when the senior Germont sings *Di Provenza il mar* to make Violetta give up Alfredo, and tells of his son's pure sister who won't be able to marry her fine fiancé if her brother is bound to a courtesan, we get shots of an adorably insipid blonde being cherubic all over the place while her seraphic future husband surrounds her with attentions about to be curtailed. Not in all my opera-going days have I so wished that Violetta would tell Germont to bugger off and seize whatever days of happiness might be left her. But, then, shots of a common-looking, rodent-like Teresa Stratas and a puffy, over-age Placido Domingo gamboling laboriously in the French countryside did not particularly make me root for that union either. Yet of such scenes is Zeffirelli's writing credit compounded. As for directorial concepts, Alfredo is gazing up yearningly from the street while Violetta sings *Ah, fors' è lui*, but his image keeps popping out at her from doors and mirrors until I thought I was watching Dr. Miracle in the third act of *The Tales of Hoffmann*.

Poor Domingo cannot act much, and when he first appeared, I asked my companion since when does the elder Germont figure in Act I? But he sings well, with nice phrasing, which is more than can be said for Stratas, whose voice is in decline from what, to me, never seemed much of a pinnacle. She does act up a storm, to be sure, but a storm is not the same as love, passion, self-sacrifice, suffering, and a moving death. And, I am afraid, not even at her most affluent and coruscating does she look like someone on whom a duke would spend 10,000 francs in three months—as the Duc de Gramont did on Alphonsine Plessis, self-styled Marie Duplessis, known as *la dame aux camélias*, whom Dumas *fils* was to immortalize in words, and Verdi in music. Indeed, so unrefined is her aspect and demeanor that one would never believe that, as Albert Vandam wrote of Marie, "she never made grammatical mistakes, no coarse expression ever passed her lips."

But let us get back to the problem of opera on film. There is some truth in that opening scene "written" by Zeffirelli. As Franz Liszt wrote to Dr. Koreff (quoted in Joanna Richardson's *The Courtesans*), "In that apartment in which she lay dying in the Boulevard de la Madeleine, there had been nothing but shameless pillage, and the bailiffs, sent by implacable creditors, were tearing away the curtains of the bed on which she lay in her agony." Yet, cinematic though it be, this scene does not belong in a film that purports to be the Verdi opera with a libretto by F. M. Piave rather than some independent work. True, one may want to keep the goings-on in a filmed opera as unstatic as is consistent with the text and music—but how kinetic is that?

There are operas (mostly modern) in which there is a great deal of movement: for example, Prokofiev's *The Flaming Angel* and Janáček's *From the House of the Dead*. But in *La Traviata*, the movement is relegated to the odd party scene with a rather irrelevant ballet (which Zeffirelli makes even more preposterous by importing Ekaterina Maksimova and Vladimir Vasilyev from the Bolshoi, and surrounding them with a corps de ballet big enough for an army corps); for the rest, it is minimal movement and maximal singing. And for that, alas, you need the opera house with its live singers and corporeal orchestra. Otherwise, all kinds of nuisances take over: busyness in the direction, interference from the camera, dishonesty of electronic amplification and distortion. In the case of this film, James Levine, conducting the Metropolitan Opera House Orchestra, demanded that the sound be turned up full blast, and, at the Museum of Modern Art screening I attended, my eardrums felt pinned to the wall by the pandemonium. Film, in short, is too distracting and denaturing a medium to make an audience attend to opera as opera.

And where film is strongest, as in the creation of illusions, it particularly betrays the opera. With make-up, lighting effects, and distance—and if the singers aren't of yesteryear's overstuffed variety—an audience may be made to believe it is watching two beautiful tragic young lovers; inflict one tight shot on Stratas and Domingo, and the jig is up. Who would believe that *this* Violetta is modeled on the lovely and genteel Marie Duplessis, who rose wholly above her humble origins and sordid adolescence, to become the sweetest and most delicate of courtesans? For it is she whom the fatherly Polish Baron de Stackelberg tried to steer into respectability, whom Count Edouard de Perregaux secretly married in London, and of whom Liszt told his mistress, Mme. d'Agoult, that (as Alan Walker writes in his *Franz Liszt*, volume one) she "was the only woman he had ever loved . . . [because] of the spiritual affinity he felt for this tragic figure."

Perhaps Zeffirelli should have forgotten all about Verdi and Dumas, and made a film about Marie Duplessis, the young woman who, not yet 23 and on the verge of death, begged Liszt to take her on a trip: "I won't bother you, I sleep all day. In the evening you can let me go to a show and at night you can do what you like with me." This is more moving than anything in Zeffirelli's tinseled film, especially when you think that Liszt was going to drag the dying girl "to Constantinople, because it was really the only possible journey I could take with her." What sort of shows would Marie, a passionate devotee of the opera and theater almost to the day of her death, have caught in Constantinople?

Such a film, though, would have been beyond Zeffirelli's scope and aptitude. Yet even on his own terms, he has done

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Doe regulations and Dr. Duff's eugenics are a reflection of a modernistic intellectual heritage, one that assigns only relative value to innocent human life.

The fundamental tenet of law and medicine—of all society for that matter—is that which estimates the individual as of primary, sacred worth. But that political and moral foundation is crumbling.

A Fearful Precedent

The critical moment came for Judge Gesell in 1969, when his became the first federal court to overrule prohibitions on abortion. While that particular ruling did not stand, it pioneered the way for the U.S. Supreme Court to establish exactly the same private right of the woman to kill her fetus in *Roe* v. *Wade* less than four years later. Now Gerhard Gesell is once again pioneering his way down the slippery slopes of constitutional jurisprudence: In the last lines of the latest opinion, he cites *Roe* and hints that handicapped newborns may be in the same danger in the future as unwanted fetuses were ten years ago. Since then 15 million of them have been aborted in the United States.

Gerhard Gesell's father was a pioneer of another sort. Arnold Gesell spent his professional life clinically observing the early stages of human growth. "Birth marks the arrival but not the true commencement of an individual," Dr. Gesell wrote in *Child Development: An Introduction to the Study of Human Growth*, in 1949. "The life career of an individual begins with conception, when the genes of the father and mother unite to initiate a cycle of growth." Later in the same book, reflecting on the recent totalitarian horrors in Europe, Arnold Gesell asserted, "A democratic culture . . . affirms the dignity of the individual person."

Or so he thought. Only a quarter of a century later, his son, along with many others, has repudiated that fundamental premise. An individual's value is not inherent, but contingent upon the will of his or her caretakers. As with the statist and medical atrocities of World War II, personhood and rights are increasingly determined by an individual's "wantedness" rather than by his genetic humanity.

The latest symptom of this trend is the institutionalized destruction of unwanted handicapped newborns, like so many factory seconds. □

CLINTON

(Continued from page 1072)

Il Tempo, and the rest. But they do not in fact mention any of the significant matters that turn up in the other papers. They are, in fact, long and flattering, almost romantic, essays in praise of the large number of moral and intellectual virtues that Don Virgilio, it seems, is so fortunate to possess. No secret was made of his plans to take over *L'Osservatore* and make it his own. *Corriere* hailed him as though he were one of the glories of the journalistic profession, and one of *Corriere*'s correspondents wrote at some length of the close friendship he has had with Levi.

Not a word is said of any of the controversies in which he has been involved, of the allegations that his articles have misrepresented the Vatican consensus for a long time and on a considerable number of subjects, of the official investigation that his activities provoked, of the general expectation that he would be dismissed, or of the fact that he never was so much an extraordinary individual at the Vatican as a member of a rather well-defined group of liberals (like Roberto Tucci), who are all in good strategic positions.

Instead, he is portrayed as an expert on the inner thoughts and political plans of John Paul II, whose own speeches and writings can now be put aside since Levi has explained all that needs to be known in his own article.

One regular contributor to *Corriere* wrote: "Don Virgilio Levi is a priest 54 years old, until yesterday considered by all men as the most capable and active on the staff of *L'Osservatore Romano*, and as a possible future editor of the Vatican daily. . . . Father Levi is built on these lines: He does not close himself up in bureaucratic officialdom, like the normal priest in the Vatican. He establishes a real communication with anyone who speaks to him. He has great knowledge of the world of the press and of publishing, beyond the frontiers of Italy. He has intellectual curiosity. Very active. Generous . . . ambitious too . . . In recent times he was the only writer on the Vatican daily whose work could be read with genuine curiosity. . . ."

In *Corriere*'s version, Cardinal Casaroli's name was never mentioned. But it was pointedly asserted that Levi's views did represent the highest level at the Secretariat of State. □

CAN YOU AFFORD TO IGNORE THE WARNING SIGNS OF UNION ACTIVITY AMONG YOUR EMPLOYEES?

Union organizers have not been idle during the recession. With increasing sophistication and newly learned skills they have been dramatically improving their "win rate" in NLRB representation elections. Using new methods and aiming at traditionally non-union employers, they are poised to make the greatest advance in organizing the American worker since the 1930s.

Lingua-Sorbonne Ltd. is a management consulting firm specializing in helping non-union employers STAY non-union. Simply put, we win our elections. Cleanly. Legally. Constructively.

Lingua-Sorbonne Ltd. believes that the best election is no election:

- We offer our clients professional, low-key union-sensitivity audits that pinpoint hot-spots and vulnerabilities.
- We provide supervisory training in union avoidance, labor law, and effective discipline.
- We run union-avoidance seminars for companies and associations, and frequently provide speakers for management meetings.

Call us for details, or write and ask for information.

Lingua-Sorbonne Ltd.
755 Boylston Street
Boston, Mass. 02116
(617) 424-6800

Orange, California - Hamilton, Bermuda

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Classified Advertisements

Employment Opportunities

DIRECTOR OF John M. Ashbrook Center for Public Affairs—applications are invited for the position of Director of the John M. Ashbrook Center for Public Affairs. The following are the qualifications for the position: The director shall oversee the academic programs, lectureships, symposiums, research, and writing, and the personnel involved in the Center. The director shall have years of experience in the areas of political science and public affairs, with appropriate academic credentials. The director must have experience which is recognized nationally, and must have the ability to aggressively develop the newly instituted Center for Public Affairs. The director must work closely with the board of directors of the Ashbrook Center, including the president of Ashland College. The salary and fringe-benefit package is competitive. The position is available immediately. Ashland College is a private four-year liberal-arts college of 2,888 students located in an attractive suburban community in northeastern Ohio. Qualified candidates should send application letter, vita, salary history, and references to President Joseph R. Shultz, Ashland College, Ashland, Ohio 44805. An equal opportunity employer.

Situations Wanted

ATTORNEY, 34, CONSERVATIVE, 7 years' experience labor relations, seeks career with company in labor relations and/or management training. Write NR Box 3751, or phone 213-650-6474.

Educational Opportunities

DEGREE BY MAIL for persons with prior college. Free details: City University Los Angeles, 1111 Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles, Calif. 90017. 213-481-0950.

LEARN TELEVISION PRODUCTION from award-winning producer/director. Learn video, graphics, scriptwriting, etc. Send $20 to Charles Betton, NR Box 3743.

Literary

"OOPS"! Out-of-print search (books). First two titles searched free. P.O. Box 2877, Harlingen, Tex. 78551.

"EQUILIBRIUM" (introduction, M. Scott Peck, MD). Powerful sequel to "Self-Rescue" (introduction, William F. Buckley Jr.), available from author, autographed, $7, postpaid. John F. C. Kiley, PhD, Box 387, Berryville, Va. 22611.

UNPOPULAR THINKING in your book? Publishers reject? Publish it under the Dulwich imprint of London. You have expert editorial counsel, skilled marketing (30 years' experience), keen price; we do a serious job of selling. Details: Dulwich Books, 280 Lordship Lane, Dulwich, London SE22, England.

PUBLISHERS' OVERSTOCKS, BARGAIN BOOKS. 2,000 titles, all subjects. Free catalogue: Hamilton's, 98-73 Clapboard, Danbury, Conn. 06810.

BILL RICKENBACKER's funny, warm accounts of life on his Yankee farm: subscribe to "The Berry Patch Letters." Twelve issues, $8 a year. Box 158, West Boxford, Mass. 01885.

FREE BOOK SEARCHING. Send requests. No obligation. Bazaar Books, Box 496, Chico, Calif. 95927.

WRITERS MUST HAVE AGENTS. Details, Author Aid Associates, 340-NR East 52nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10022.

OUT-OF-PRINT BOOKFINDER. Send requests to: 2035NR Everding, Eureka, Calif. 95501.

BULK RATES: MICHAEL NOVAK'S "Moral Clarity in the Nuclear Age" available from Catholicism in Crisis, Jacques Maritain Center, P.O. Box 495, Notre Dame, Ind. 46556 (price includes postage and handling): 25 copies, $40; 50 copies, $77.50; 100 copies, $102.50; 250 copies, $155; 500 copies, $255; 1,000 copies, $457.50.

Wanted

WORKS BY Alfred H. Maurer, American artist, 1868-1932, sought by private collector. K. Burt, 1015 Gayley Avenue #111, Los Angeles, Calif. 90024. 213-824-2250.

CAN YOU SPARE an extra room? The Tureck Bach Institute greatly needs one-room office space in New York from which to arrange concerts, lectures, etc. Can you help a tax-deductible society in need? Write NR Box 3740.

Announcements

WAOAW—WOMEN ARTISTS of American West, opening September 23, Saddleback Gallery, Santa Ana, Calif.

For Sale

EXTRATERRESTRIAL color-and-create book. Quality entertainment, delights any child. $2.95. Edu-fun Books, Box 05, Highland Heights, Ky. 41076.

ANTIQUE MAPS for investment, decoration, or gifts. Antique Maps, P.O. Box 1274, Fort Payne, Ala. 35967.

COACHELLA VALLEY HOMEOWNERS: Window coverings at sensible prices. Nelsha's Draperies, Palm Desert, Calif. 619-346-8651.

CUCKOO CLOCKS of Swiss handicraft from the exclusive manufacturer of this superb Swiss line. Send for your price list and order form: Nite Hawk Co., 18145 Orange Street, Hesperia, Calif. 92345. Please include a S.A.S.E.

Gourmet

ICE CREAM PIE, mud pie. Delicious hot-weather desserts, variety of flavors. S.A.S.E. plus $3: Box 64, Los Gatos, Calif. 95031.

ORIGINAL CUBAN chicken-and-rice recipe. Foolproof. $1, S.A.S.E. to Rice, P.O. Box 570891, Miami, Fla. 33257-0891.

Music

RECORDS—TAPES! Discounts to 73 per cent, all labels; no purchase obligation; newsletter, discount dividend certificates; 100 per cent guarantees. Free details: Discount Music Club, 650 Main Street, P.O. Box 2000, Dept. 36-0983, New Rochelle, N.Y. 10801.

Real Estate

OWN A BEAUTIFUL CONDO tax shelter in Chicago Loop, or near O'Hare Field. Enjoy in 1992, during the World's Fair. Complete anonymity guaranteed. Write for details: TV Tax Shelters, Box 366, Oak Park, Ill. 60303.

Personal

(NR extends maximum freedom in this column, but NR's maximum freedom may be another man's straitjacket. NR reserves the right to reject any copy deemed unsuitable. —Pub.)

PENPALS WORLDWIDE. Send S.A.S.E. to Box 126, Station A, Scarborough, Ontario M1K 5C1, Canada.

National Review Accepts . . .

classified advertisements for personal services, items wanted or for sale, jobs sought or available, houses or apartments for sale or rent, and miscellaneous subjects of a comparable nature. National Review does not accept political advertisements of any kind, or advertisements which are solicitations for funds. National Review reserves the right to reject any copy deemed unsuitable for whatever reason. Rates per insertion: $1.00 per word, minimum 10 words, plus $2.25 for box number. Frequency discounts: 4 times, 90¢ per word; 6 times, 85¢ per word; 8 times or more, 80¢ per word. Text accompanied by full payment must be received 30 days before publication date. Responses to box numbers will be forwarded. Address Classified Director, National Review, 150 East 35th Street, New York, New York 10016.

Solution to Last Issue's Trans-O-Gram

[JOHN HENRY] CARDINAL NEWMAN:

Sermons [on Subjects] of the Day

It is the peculiarity of the warfare between the Church and the world, that the world seems ever gaining on the Church, yet the Church is really ever gaining on the world. Its enemies are ever triumphing over it as vanquished, and its members ever despairing; yet it abides.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DO YOU LOVE the Ozarks, David Letterman, and National Review? Gal, 24, invites penpals. Write NR Box 3756.

RETIRED GENTLEMAN SEEKS CONTACT with old-fashioned lady who cherishes elitist values and perchance may enjoy the music of Delius, the art of Renoir, the prose of Norman Douglas, ad-lib peripatetics, and occasional excursions into fantasy world of nostalgia. Write NR Box 3750.

PENFRIENDS: ENGLAND, U.S.A. Lasting friendships through correspondence. Send age, interests. Free reply. Harmony, Box 89NR, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11235.

SINGLES, MEET NEW SINGLES. Write Friend Finder—U.S.A., P.O. Box 32, Glen Ellyn, Ill. 60138.

INTELLIGENT, HUMOROUS, SINCERE WOMAN, 29, Phoenix area, interested in corresponding with man with same qualities. Enjoys travel, books, history, politics, movies, and sports. Write NR Box 3755.

SINGLE BOOKLOVERS gets the cultured single, widowed, or divorced acquainted. Nationwide. Established 1970—3,000 members. Box AE, Swarthmore, Pa. 19081. 215-566-2132.

SUCCESSFUL WOMAN EXECUTIVE, 26, mature, widely traveled, sports-minded, classic features, would meet a Christian businessman of attainment and character in 40s or 50s. Write NR Box 3745.

SCANDINAVIAN LADIES, sincere, 18-68, seek correspondence, lasting relationships. Details: Scanna-NR, P.O. Box 4, Pittsford, N.Y. 14534.

MANHATTAN-BORN TRIAL LAWYER, own practice, 40s, artist, jock, currently writing novel, Catholic, and somewhere to the right of the Carlist party, seeks attractive woman, 30s, to share film, sports, music from opera to rock, museums, etc. First personal ad ever. Box 482, Bronxville, N.Y. 10708.

CLASSICAL MUSIC LOVERS' EXCHANGE. Nationwide link between unattached music lovers. Write CMLE, Box 31, Pelham, N.Y. 10803.

AN INTELLIGENT WAY to meet others: For hobbies, sports, correspondence, friendship, vacations, even business ventures, use our Exchange to contact others. Write Electronic Exchange, P.O. Box 68-N1, Manhattan Beach, Calif. 90266.

Miscellaneous

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS. For personal report send sample, age, and $20 to Alice Charlesworth, Box 41, Forest Park, Dayton, Ohio 45405.

BEDBOARDS FOR COFFINS. Did a deceased loved one in this vale of tears suffer from lower back pain? Ouch. May your loved one rest in peace and comfort with our bedboard. $19.95, plus shipping anywhere in continental U.S.A. Stenciled RIP&C. Use limited only by imagination. A "Peor Es Nada" product. Box 874, Camden, S.C. 29020.

SOFTWARE JUNKIE? Rent today's most popular computer software for pennies a day. Free brochure. The Soft Source-R Inc., Dept. F, P.O. Box 2931, Joliet, Ill. 60435.

POISONED BY POSITIVE IONS? Negative ionizers help. Free brochure. Write NR Box 3744.

RECOMMEND "Fear's Answer: A Case History" for the Christian counselor's approach to anxiety. $4. Box 27, Princeton, N.J. 08540.

BALDING? UNIVERSITY OF HELSINKI experiments regenerated hair growth for 80 per cent of participants. Free information: Ithaca Growth, P.O. Box 6583, Ithaca, N.Y. 14851.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS IN DEPTH. Send full page of writing and $20 to Elisabeth King, 121 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016.

"HOW TO TEACH SPELLING"—Send $2 for pamphlet and initiate educational reform. Write NR Box 3754.

CORPORATE OWNERS—SAVE THOUSANDS. Sheltered 12.5 per cent. Brochure by experienced tax planner. $5 to 15119 Killion Street, Van Nuys, Calif. 91411.

PSYCHIATRIST SEEKS COLLABORATORS for exposing extreme liberal or modernistic core of post-Freudian psychiatry. Write NR Box 3749.

COACH-AND-FOUR chauffeur-driven limousines. Los Angeles. 213-989-4686.

QUALITY ENGRAVED 8" x 10" PORTRAIT, Ronald Reagan. Send $2: S. C. Industries, Box 190, Homer, N.Y. 13077.

Subscription Service

TO SUBSCRIBE OR RENEW:

☐ New subscription
☐ Renewal
☐ Payment enclosed
☐ Bill me
☐ 1 year $29.00 (U.S.A.)
☐ 1 year $35.25 U.S. currency (Canada and all other foreign)

Initial here _____

CHANGE OF ADDRESS AND RENEWAL:

Please attach the mailing label from the front cover when writing about service or change of address. Allow 3 weeks for change of address to take effect. Thank you.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____

MAIL TO: National Review, Readers Service, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016.

NR CLASSIFIED ADS

Rates:
$1.00 per word.
$2.25 for NR box number

AD COPY:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

SPECIAL INTRODUCTORY OFFER!

Pay for two ads—get a third ad FREE. Advance payment (minimum 2 ads)

Enclosed $ _____

Mail to:
Classified Director
National Review
150 East 35 Street
New York, NY 10016

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

A Visit with Sec Def

On The Right

New York, Aug. 4—Caspar Weinberger is eager to tell his story, and wonders out loud why it is that so many Americans fail to grasp the essentials of the problem, which is as simple as that the Soviet Union has acquired a first-strike ability as the result of the general torpor brought on by SALT I. SALT treaties, he points out, while they are symbols of the effort to disarm, have not brought on disarmament—quite the contrary. You can wrap up a bouquet of proposals for unilateral disarmament, label it SALT III (the metaphor is mine, not Weinberger's), and the knee-jerk vote will hail SALT III, proclaiming peace in our time.

All very discouraging, says the Secretary of Defense, who, however, believes profoundly that little by little things will change, as the Soviet Union recognizes that the United States is not disposed to surrender. In Europe, as earnest of our determination, we have the scheduled deployment of the theater missiles this fall. In the Caribbean, we have an immense fleet and attendant military personnel. "They ask me, are these combat troops on maneuvers?" he says. "Of course they're combat troops. That's the only kind of troops we have, from the medics, to the machine-gunners, to the bakers. The question is: Are they dispatched with a view to engaging in combat, and the answer to that is no, they are not." They are dispatched to make a point. Such a point as, perhaps, Fidel Castro has heard, as witness the relatively conciliatory tone of some of his recent statements.

On the whole business of disarmament, the visitor says, let me frame the question in a graphic way. Let us suppose that Point 10 signifies that line that just permits both superpowers to blow each other to smithereens. Now let us assume that, seeking this or the other advantage, the superpowers have arrived at Point 60, commonly called Redundancy. Why then is there public clamor if we proceed to Point 70?

The Secretary said that there ought not to be public clamor against the arms race, so defined, provided that it is the intention of the policymakers to rise to Point 70 only as a step toward diminishing the chances of war.

Next question: Is disarmament, defined as moving from Point 60 to Point 50, desirable because the trend is in the direction of Point 10, or should any move toward disarmament be evaluated exclusively in terms of the residual relationship? Answer: Both. A move toward Zero Option is good. But no truly important objective has been achieved until the Zero Option point has been reached.

ANOTHER WAY of saying this, I suppose, is that if the cowboys and Indians each surrender one bullet, composite firepower is reduced by two bullets. But the security of the cowboys is not enhanced until the Indians are completely out of bullets. But the Indians will never give up the marginal bullet until after two things have been realized: The first is their own security; the second, their willingness to leave the cowboys' stockade in peace.

Well then, if the United States is so anxious not to destabilize and thus to frighten the Soviet Union, why didn't the President, when he made his Star Wars speech, promise to turn over to the Soviet Union, every Monday morning, the technology developed during the preceding week?

Answer: The President did not rule out giving space-defense technology to the Soviet Union. But two things need to be kept in mind. The first is that at this moment the Soviet Union is way ahead of us on space defense, so we are hardly in a position to give it anything it doesn't already have. The second point is that we would not want to find ourselves in a position of turning over to the Soviet Union the one missing link in its system, while our own was still so backward as to be missing several links. We wouldn't, in other words, want to be instrumental in completing the Soviet defense system before our own defense system was consummated.

Fair enough. And, asked another visitor, do you see disarmament as something likely to happen?

Yes.

When?

We don't know.

A matter of years?

A matter of years.

How many years?

Oh dear, time is up. □

Mahood, *London Daily Mail* Rothco

"They're on standby for redundancy."

REMEMBER THE MONROE DOCTRINE

New York, Aug. 10—Ten days after the missile crisis was resolved, in October 1962, half a dozen New Yorkers met (at my initiative) with Marvin Liebman, the principal anti-Communist organizational entrepreneur of those days. The proposal was to found a Committee for the Monroe Doctrine. Our thesis was that the terms of the Kennedy-Khrushchev démarche had the effect of repealing the traditional American guarantee against colonization, a doctrine promulgated in 1823 and gradually codified during the nineteenth century. You will recall that Khrushchev promised to take his missiles out of Cuba, restoring the status quo ante, in return for which Kennedy promised not to invade Cuba, thereby confirming the status of Cuba as a Soviet satellite, in defiance of the Monroe Doctrine. That was quite a diplomatic victory. Another one like that, and the Soviets will have an aircraft carrier on Lake Huron.

That was the point the committee wished to make. Captain Eddie Rickenbacker accepted the chairmanship, and the commit-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tee worked for a year or so, attempting to get Congress to exhume the Monroe Doctrine for the purpose of declaring Soviet control of Cuba as—to use the pastoral diction of yesteryear—"the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States."

What happened was not much. The country was too far gone in hagiolatry. JFK was the hero of the missile encounter, and that was that. The problem being, of course, that we are face to face with the Son of the Missile Crisis in El Salvador and Nicaragua right now, and, having lost the Monroe Doctrine, we have lost our diplomatic gyroscope.

HERE ARE facts no one this side of the Institute for Policy Studies would contradict, i.e., no one unpossessed by ideology. They are: 1) Cuba is receiving more than $10 million in military and other assistance from the Soviet Union every day. 2) A substantial part of that equipment Cuba is sending on to Nicaragua, which now has on tap about 100,000 soldiers, plus modern weaponry including fifty tanks. 3) Nicaragua has declared that it is engaged in a "revolution without frontiers." To dramatize its point, every day, Nicaragua is introducing weapons through Honduras overland, and by airdrop across Honduras, into El Salvador. The material thus provided has sustained a protracted civil war in El Salvador. If it were not for Nicaragua, the civil war in El Salvador would be as threatening as the post-concert rampage in Central Park the other night. And if it were not for Cuba, Nicaragua would not be mounting a holy war in the name of Karl Marx against its neighbors. And if it were not for the Soviet Union, Castro would have to finance his own armies, only he'd be broke, like Pinochet.

Along comes Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan to tell the United States that we should face the problem at its source, namely the Soviet Union. That is a very good idea, because there is no question that the Soviet Union is behind it all. President Reagan reminded us of this in a recent speech in Orlando, on which Senator Moynihan failed to comment. But the trouble with protesting to Andropov is that such protests have a way of amusing him. They seem to yank him back from his Alzheimer's disease or whatever it is he is suffering from. He is likely to reply to our protest by calling off martial law in Nicaragua. And when he calls off martial law, that is because there is nothing left to do, as in Poland.

We don't have what it takes to challenge the Soviet Union, and it was an intuition of this order that led Presidents Monroe and Polk and Cleveland to keep their sights down to countries in this hemisphere. It is Cuba we need to come to terms with. Our terms. The only other terms are theirs: continuing bloody revolution, up and down the hemisphere.

We should obviously seek peaceful solutions to our problems. But this does not entitle us to say that these are not "our" problems. If President Monroe considered it our problem back in 1823, when in order to reach Nicaragua you needed to sail across the ocean for ten days or more, it is certainly our problem 160 years later, when missiles cover the distance between Managua and Washington in eight minutes.

But what is it we are supposed to use our Army and Navy and Air Force for, if not to keep the peace? One joins with those who express impatience at the disingenuous official explanation of what our fleet is up to in Nicaraguan waters. What it ought to be up to ought to be plain: Cut out your war against the government of El Salvador, or we'll make war on you and your supplier. □

DOING THE IMPOSSIBLE

New York, Aug. 8—It is, by now, well known—or should be—that conservatives do not peddle solutions to social problems, for the simple reason that there are no "solutions" to social problems. Edmund Burke enunciated this in his famous aphorism, There are no permanent victories as there are no permanent defeats. But this is less than a counsel of despair. And over the weekend I listened to an American of extraordinary personal achievements (among other things, he has visited the moon), who encouraged his conversational companion to think out loud about certain problems that we know exist.

Take, for instance, the matter of illegal immigration. There is Mexico, to the south of us, for whose people we desire only the best, our war with Mexico having concluded 135 years ago. But we cannot accept all the Mexicans who would like to live in America, for reasons it is vulgar to go into. And yet, although we have laws, we all know that these laws are not being enforced, because, given the existing situation, they are unenforceable. The existing situation is that any Mexican who chooses to come into the country illegally has very little trouble in doing so. Occasionally they are caught; indeed, south of San Diego, one Mexican was caught seven times. He must have been extraordinarily informal, because usually it isn't necessary to be caught. All you need to do is wear a red wig, or whatever.

Is there a solution?

Well, my friend said, why not a wall? Instantly the mind turns to a Berlin Wall. But a wall designed to keep people from coming in—the kind of wall you would build around Fort Knox—need not be so punitive in character as such a wall as you would construct to keep people from getting out—of Sing Sing, for instance—with watchtowers, and machine guns.

Do we want to build a two-thousand-mile-long wall, with barbed wire and land mines, to keep illegals from coming into the country? Who says A, must say B. If you desire an end, you must accept the means necessary for the realization of that end. Just a thought.

Another question. What about the illegal drugs pouring into this country? It is estimated that somewhere between 85 per cent and 95 per cent of the stuff that comes up from Latin America reaches U.S. consumers, and the returns are measured in broken families, broken bodies, suicide, theft, muggings, and murder. Our Coast Guard stops a lot of vessels, finds the dope, makes arrests, seizes the booty, and in due course the vendors are released, and they go out again. But the important datum is that if your chances are 85 per cent of getting through, you are encouraged to continue in the enterprise.

So, my inquisitive friend said, why not shoot down the vessels that carry the stuff?

You mean after you get the people off the boat?

No no no. You miss my point! The people stay on the boat.

How would you—old shoe—reconcile that policy with the Constitution of the United States, which guarantees fair trials, etc. etc.?

WELL, YOU SEE, the Constitution of the United States authorizes Congress to grant "letters of marque and reprisal." So that you might consider deputizing free-enterprise counter-pirates to stop the drug traffic, which is itself a form of aggressive piracy. These entrepreneurs would go out to sea, stop vessels coming up from Latin America, and search them. If drugs were discovered, a frogman from the counter-pirate fleet would descend to the keel of the drug-smuggler boat and plant an explosive on it. The apprehending vessel would withdraw, and in a couple of minutes the pirates' boat would go down, with all hands.

But—but, you would in effect be sanctioning the continuing execution, without trial, of a lot of people!

I don't think so. You see, precisely the point is that there wouldn't *be* a lot of people, after the first, oh, dozen sinkings. The drug smugglers would decide that, on the whole, it was more pleasant to stay home. But the congressional grant would remain in force—as required to dull the appetite. I'd guess that would stop most of the drug trade. That was the point of the discussion, wasn't it? □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Trans-O-Gram

By SVEND PETERSEN

DEFINITIONS

A. A trifling sum to pay for a layer cake (2 words)
140 53 90 185 200 2 30 47 66 70 / 71

B. What Foot didn't make against Mrs. Thatcher
190 116 9 122 153 12 37

C. The Tree of Life (2 words)
198 55 138 28 123 3 169 59 95 103

D. A Wall Street Arab's *boat*
8 115 50 89

E. Undulating
49 141 128 10

F. What draft dodgers got from Ford and Nixon
68 94 34 118 107 14 85

G. A Greek poet who wrote the *Little Iliad*
75 183 67 121 137 127 97

H. Deportment for moving a place for valuables (2 words)
96 6 13 44 143 158 178 36 78 149 / 164

I. Paid attention
18 21 35 45 54 56

J. Jargon of a famous French-Irishman
161 146 17 51 98 150

K. Rogers Hornsby's nickname
5 189 27 195 157

L. How Satan looked at Adam's wife
15 102 174 7 119 73

M. An ex-senator from Idaho or an open place of worship (2 words)
26 16 22 33 31 176 60 81 104 199 / 87

N. The first day of Lent (2 words)
41 61 80 86 100 105 142 160 179 20 / 74 113

O. Dr. Grimesby Roylott's game?
114 24 32 40 48 58 65

P. King of the English, 955-959
57 148 156 173

Q. This archer's son could relate to him
64 134 39 151

R. A Cambridge don would never wear such shoes
88 82 188 77 193 166 155

S. *To authenticate* officially
93 23 52 84 79 91

T. Latin *and* and French *and* (latter reversed) in North Dakota
147 131 196 171 186 159

U. Mathematical illiterates *can count* on these
197 106 165 126

V. What Ku Klux Klanners are
29 62 109 130 144 133

W. Unintelligible
46 111 162 181 124 170

X. "There were seven hundred chosen men ____"—Judges 20:16 (King James)
83 4 110 194 92 135 184 76 108 117

Y. Vatican paper without mass circulation (2 words)
101 1 11 19 42 99 129 136 25 145 / 152 163 177 69 72 175 187

Z. What the Teamsters Union needs to deliver it from evil
125 168 120 132 180 172 154 43 191 112

a. What a man from Chihuahua might call a Texan—once
139 192 63 167 182 38

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words (above) from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition.

See page 1094 for solution to last Trans-O-Gram.

■	1 Y	2 A	3 C	4 X	5 K	6 H	7 L	■	8 D	9 B	10 E	11 Y	■	12 B	13 H	14 F	15 L	16 M
■	17 J	18 I	19 Y	■	20 N	21 I	22 M	23 S	24 O	■	25 Y	26 M	■	27 K	28 C	29 V	30 A	■
31 M	32 O	33 M	34 F	35 I	36 H	37 B	■	38 a	■	39 Q	40 O	41 N	42 Y	43 Z	44 H	45 I	■	46 W
47 A	■	48 O	49 E	50 D	■	51 J	52 S	53 A	54 I	55 C	■	56 I	57 P	58 O	59 C	60 M	61 N	■
62 V	63 a	■	64 Q	65 O	66 A	■	67 G	68 F	69 Y	70 A	■	71 A	72 Y	73 L	■	74 N	75 G	76 X
77 R	78 H	79 S	■	80 N	81 M	82 R	83 X	84 S	85 F	■	86 N	87 M	88 R	■	89 D	90 A	91 S	92 X
■	93 S	■	94 F	95 C	96 H	97 G	98 J	99 Y	100N	■	101Y	102L	103C	104M	105N	106U	107F	108X
■	109V	110X	■	111W	112Z	113N	114O	115D	116B	117X	118F	119L	120Z	121G	■	122B	123C	124W
125Z	126U	■	127G	128E	129Y	130V	131T	132Z	■	133V	134Q	135X	136Y	137G	■	138C	139a	■
140A	141E	142N	143H	144V	145Y	■	146J	147T	148P	■	149H	■	150J	■	151Q	152Y	153B	154Z
155R	■	156P	157K	158H	■	159T	160N	161J	162W	163Y	164H	165U	166R	■	167a	168Z	169C	170W
171T	172Z	173P	■	174L	175Y	■	176M	177Y	178H	179N	180Z	181W	182a	183G	184X	185A	186T	■
187Y	188R	■	189K	■	190B	191Z	192a	193R	194X	■	195K	196T	197U	198C	199M	200A	■	■

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Introducing a variety of ways to help your company achieve its quality goals.

Communicate to your employees daily with KEX® Quality Awareness Mat Service.

There's no investment. No inventory. No fuss. You pay only a nominal service charge and we exchange your mats with freshly-laundered ones regularly.

Our service includes a wide variety of Quality Awareness Mats to provide you with an ever-changing assortment. What's more, our mats are constructed to capture large amounts of dirt and grime so floors, walls, fixtures, and machines all remain cleaner, longer. Which means your housekeeping time is substantially reduced.

Let us put Quality Awareness Mats to work for you. In lobbies, passageways, and other high-traffic areas throughout your plants and offices.

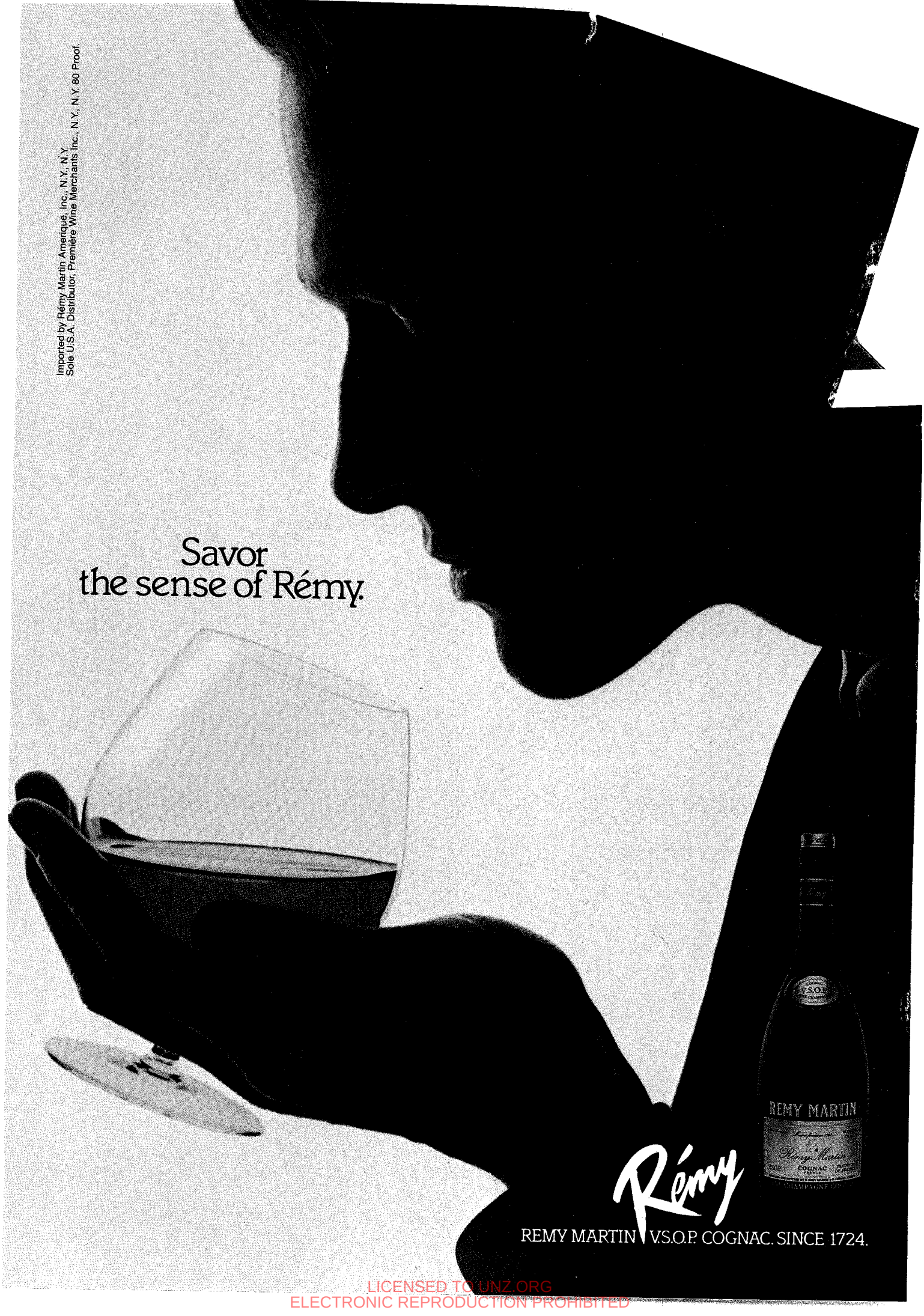
For your FREE BROCHURE of our full line of Quality Awareness Mats, and the name of your nearest KEX Distributor, write or call: KEX National Service®, LaGrange, GA 30240/ (404) 883-5542.

KEX NATIONAL SERVICE®

MILLIKEN

KEX® is a registered trademark and KEX National Service® is a registered service mark–both of Milliken & Company.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED


Imported by Rémy Martin Amerique, Inc., N.Y., N.Y.
Sole U.S.A. Distributor, Premiere Wine Merchants Inc., N.Y., N.Y. 80 Proof.
Savor
the sense of Rémy.
REMY MARTIN
Rémy
REMY MARTIN V.S.O.P. COGNAC. SINCE 1724.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED